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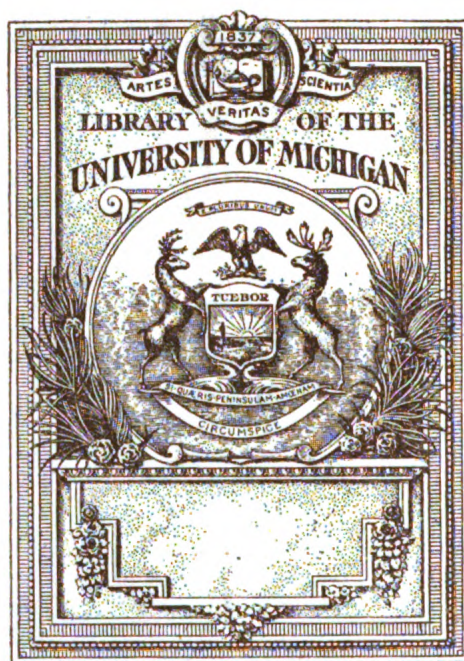
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THE
BRITISH NUMISMATIC
JOURNAL.

THE
BRITISH NUMISMATIC JOURNAL
AND PROCEEDINGS OF THE
BRITISH NUMISMATIC SOCIETY,
1910.



EDITED BY
W. J. ANDREW, F.S.A.,
AND
P. W. P. CARLYON-BRITTON, F.S.A.



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CONTENTS.

	PAGE
A NUMISMATIC HISTORY OF THE REIGNS OF WILLIAM I. AND II. (1066-1100).	
PART II. THE HISTORIES OF THE MINTS, <i>CONTINUED</i> . BY P. W. P. CARLYON-BRITTON, F.S.A.	1
A REMARKABLE HOARD OF SILVER PENNIES AND HALFPENNIES OF THE REIGN OF STEPHEN, FOUND AT SHELDON, DERBYSHIRE, IN 1867. BY W. J. ANDREW, F.S.A.	27
NUMISMATIC HISTORY OF THE REIGNS OF EDWARD I., II., AND III., <i>CONTINUED</i> . BY H. B. EARLE FOX AND SHIRLEY FOX.	91
SHAKSPERE'S PORTRAITURE: PAINTED, GRAVEN, AND MEDALLIC. BY W. SHARP OGDEN	143
PORTRAITURE OF OUR STUART MONARCHS ON THEIR COINS AND MEDALS.	
PART III: WILLIAM AND MARY. BY HELEN FARQUHAR.	199
SEVENTEENTH CENTURY TOKENS OF NORTHAMPTONSHIRE, <i>CONTINUED</i> . BY WILLIAM C. WELLS	269
A PARCEL OF STYCAS FROM THE YORK FIND, 1842. BY NATHAN HEYWOOD.	331
NOTES ON SOME INTERESTING BRITISH MEDALS. BY CHARLES WINTER.	335
WAMPUM: THE NATIVE SUBSTITUTE FOR CURRENCY IN NORTH AMERICA. BY NEHEMIAH VREELAND	341
PROCEEDINGS OF THE SOCIETY	351
OFFICERS AND COUNCIL	353
PROCEEDINGS	355
REPORT OF THE COUNCIL	396
INCOME AND EXPENDITURE ACCOUNT AND BALANCE SHEET	404
RULES FOR THE AWARD OF THE JOHN SANFORD SALTUS MEDAL	407
LIST OF MEMBERS	413
INDEX	429

385453

ILLUSTRATIONS.

		PAGE
COINS OF WILLIAM I. AND II.		
PLATE XVIII.	THE HUNTINGDON AND CANTERBURY MINTS	<i>FACING</i> 4
"	XIX. THE DOVER AND HYTHE MINTS	12
"	XX. THE ROCHESTER AND ROMNEY MINTS	16
"	XXI. THE SANDWICH AND LEICESTER MINTS.	22
COINS OF THE REIGN OF STEPHEN.		
FRAGMENT OF XIVTH-CENTURY PAINTED GLASS SAID TO HAVE BEEN FOUND WITH THE SHELDON HOARD		28
THE REBUS OF WILLIAM CUMIN, BISHOP OF DURHAM		49
PENNY OF DAVID I. OF SCOTLAND, BEARING THE REBUS OF HIS CHANCELLOR, WILLIAM CUMIN, IN PLACE OF THE SCEPTRE.		50
PLATE I.	SILVER PENNIES AND HALFPENNIES OF THE REIGN OF STEPHEN FOUND AT SHELDON, DERBYSHIRE, IN 1867, PRINCIPALLY OF THE NOTTINGHAM MINT.	<i>FACING</i> 58
PENNY OF STEPHEN'S REGAL COINAGE AT NOTTINGHAM, <i>CIRCA</i> 1139.		66
SILVER PENNY OF NOTTINGHAM FROM WHICH STEPHEN'S NAME AND TITLE HAVE BEEN ERASED		66
THE THIRD VARIETY OF WILLIAM PEYEREL'S COINAGE		70
THE FOURTH AND LAST VARIETY OF WILLIAM PEYEREL'S COINAGE		71
A COIN OF IPSWICH BEARING THE BADGE OF BOULOGNE		74
A PENNY FROM REGAL DIES BEARING THE BADGE OF BOULOGNE		75
PLATE II.	COINS OF HENRY I., STEPHEN, DAVID I. OF SCOTLAND AND THE EMPRESS MATILDA FROM THE SHELDON HOARD	<i>FACING</i> 80
COINS OF EDWARD I.		
PLATE I.	TYPES OF EDWARD I.	" 91
"	II. COINS OF EDWARD I., 1272-1280	" 104
"	III. COINS OF EDWARD I., 1280-1282	" 114
"	IV. COINS OF EDWARD I., 1280-1282	" 122
"	V. GROATS OF EDWARD I.	" 126
SHAKSPERE'S PORTRAITURE.		
PLATE.	THE PORTRAIT IN THE POSSESSION OF W. SHARP OGDEN	<i>FACING</i> 143
"	THE "CHANDOS" PORTRAIT.	" 146
"	THE "DROESHOUT" PORTRAIT	" 150
"	HEAD FROM THE MONUMENT. <i>FULL FACE</i>	" 154

Contents.

vii

SHAKSPERE'S PORTRAITURE (*continued*)—

PAGE

PLATE. HEAD FROM THE MONUMENT.	<i>THREE-QUARTER FACE TO</i>	
	<i>LEFT . . . FACING</i>	156
" " " "	<i>PROFILE TO LEFT "</i>	158
" " " "	<i>THREE-QUARTER FACE TO</i>	
	<i>RIGHT . . . FACING</i>	160
" " " "	<i>PROFILE TO RIGHT "</i>	164
THE 1911 MEDAL		183
THE DASSIER MEDAL		185
THE BEAUFOY MEDAL.		188
THE TERCENTENARY MEDAL		189
PLATE. SHAKSPERIAN TOKENS	<i>FACING</i>	192

PORTRAITURE OF OUR STUART MONARCHS ON THEIR COINS AND MEDALS.

PLATE. PORTRAIT OF WILLIAM III., PRINCE OF ORANGE	<i>FACING</i>	199
MEDALLIC PORTRAITS OF HENRY, DUKE OF GLOUCESTER, AND MARY, PRINCESS OF ORANGE		201
PLATE. MEDALS OF WILLIAM III., PRINCE OF ORANGE, AND OF CHARLES II. AND WILLIAM III. AS PRINCE OF ORANGE	<i>FACING</i>	202
MEDAL OF MARY, PRINCESS OF ORANGE, AND HER SON, 1654		203
PLATE. PORTRAIT OF MARY, WIFE OF WILLIAM III.	<i>FACING</i>	208
MEDAL COMMEMORATING THE MARRIAGE OF WILLIAM AND MARY		208
HALFCROWN OF WILLIAM AND MARY, 1689		213
PATTERN FARTHING OF WILLIAM AND MARY		215
PATTERN HALFPENNY OF WILLIAM AND MARY		216
SIXPENCE, OF 1693		216
MEDAL, <i>TRIUMPHANT ENTRY INTO THE HAGUE</i>		220
MEDAL, CHAPEL DESTROYED AT LINCOLN'S INN FIELDS, 1689		221
BOWER'S CORONATION MEDAL OF WILLIAM AND MARY		221
CORONATION MEDAL OF WILLIAM AND MARY		223
HALF-GUINEA, 1689		229
TIN HALFPENNY OF 1690		232
TIN HALFPENNY AND FARTHING OF 1689		233
COPPER FARTHINGS OF 1692 AND 1694		235
MAUNDY GROATS OF 1689 AND 1694		237
FORTY-SHILLING PIECE OF WILLIAM AND MARY		238
SCOTTISH HALFPENNY OF WILLIAM AND MARY		240
SCOTTISH PISTOLE, 1701		240
IRISH HALFPENNY OF WILLIAM AND MARY.		241
MEDAL, MARY AS REGENT		243
PLATE. PORTRAIT OF MARY AS QUEEN	<i>FACING</i>	252
MEDAL, BY BOSKAM, ON THE DEATH OF MARY		253
MEDAL, BY ROETTIER, ON THE DEATH OF MARY		254

PORTRAITURE OF OUR STUART MONARCHS (<i>continued</i>)—	PAGE
PLAQUE OF WILLIAM	256
PLATE. SILVER PLAQUES OF WILLIAM AND OF MARY	<i>FACING</i> 256
PLATE. SILVER PLAQUES OF CHARLES II.	” 258
PLAQUE OF MARY	259
DRAUGHTSMEN OF WILLIAM AND MARY	265
SILVER-GILT MEDALLION OF MARY	266
SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY TOKENS OF NORTHAMPTONSHIRE.	
PLATE II. NORTHAMPTONSHIRE TOKENS	<i>FACING</i> 269
FARTHING TOKEN OF JOHN FOX OF KETTERING.	275
HALFPENNY TOKEN OF JOHN BURGIS OF KILSBY	278
HALFPENNY TOKEN OF EDMUND CHANDLER OF KING'S SUTTON	281
PLATE III. NORTHAMPTONSHIRE TOKENS	<i>FACING</i> 304
FARTHING TOKEN OF JOHN CAWTHORNE OF PETERBOROUGH	322
PLATE IV. NORTHAMPTONSHIRE TOKENS	<i>FACING</i> 324
FARTHING TOKENS OF FRANCIS MORTIMER OF PETERBOROUGH	326
SOME INTERESTING BRITISH MEDALS.	
PLATE I	<i>FACING</i> 335
PLATE II	” 338
WAMPUM = NATIVE CURRENCY IN NORTH AMERICA.	
A NAVAJO INDIAN'S NECKLACE	342
WAMPUM OF NEW MEXICO AND CALIFORNIA	343
” FROM GEORGIA AND FLORIDA	344
” IMITATIONS AND GENUINE	345
” FROM ARIZONA, NEW YORK, AND TENNESSEE	346
” “PIPES”	347
” “MOONS”	348
” FROM CALIFORNIA, BRAZIL AND THE MARSHALL ISLANDS	349
” FROM AFRICA, JAPAN AND MEXICO	350
EXHIBITIONS.	
JAMES II., SIXTY-SHILLING PIECE, SCOTTISH	359
” FORTY-SHILLING PIECE, SCOTTISH	359
” PEWTER PENNY, 1690	360
” ” HALFPENNY, 1690	360
” CORONATION MEDAL	360
” <i>PRUDENCE</i> MEDAL	361
” <i>TUTAMEN</i> MEDAL	361
” MEDAL, <i>THE SPANISH WRECK</i>	361
CHARLES I., MEDAL, <i>RETURN TO LONDON</i> , 1633	363
” SILVER POUND-PIECE	363
CHARLES II., BRITISH COLONISATION MEDAL	363
WILLIAM III. AS PRINCE OF ORANGE	364

Contents.

ix

	PAGE
EXHIBITIONS (<i>continued</i>).	
ANNE. MEDAL OF EXPEDITION TO VIGO BAY	364
VICTORIA. THE ARCTIC MEDAL.	365
CURIOUS HALFCROWN OF CHARLES I.	365
UNCERTAIN SHILLING OF CHARLES I.	365
CURIOUS SHILLING OF CHARLES I.	366
SHILLING OF CHARLES I.	366
" " THE COMMONWEALTH, 1659	366
ANGEL OF HENRY VI.	367
HALF-ANGEL OF HENRY VI.	367
EARLY BRITISH QUARTER-STATER FOUND AT COLCHESTER	372
QUARTER-ANGEL OF JAMES I.	394
HENRY VI. LIGHT HALFPENNY OF BRISTOL	394
PLATE. A HANOVERIAN NAVAL BADGE OF <i>CIRCA</i> 1745	<i>FACING</i> 394
THE JOHN SANFORD SALTUS MEDAL	408

VOL. VII.

6


A NUMISMATIC HISTORY OF THE REIGNS OF WILLIAM I. AND II. (1066-1100).

BY P. W. P. CARLYON-BRITTON, F.S.A., *President.*

PART II.—THE HISTORY OF THE MINTS (*continued*).

HUNTINGDONSHIRE :—D.B. *Huntedunscire.*

HUNTINGDON :—D.B. *Huntedun, Huntedone.*

 THE county borough of Huntingdon gives its name to the shire of which it is the chief town. It is situate on a gentle acclivity on the northern bank of the River Ouse; Godmanchester, the site of a Roman station, lies on the southern side of the stream. Huntingdon, anciently *Huntandun*, *Huntedun*, signifies in Anglo-Saxon "the hill of hunters," a derivation ascribed to it by Henry of Huntingdon, who wrote in or about the year 1135. From the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* we learn that in the summer of A.D. 921 the army, *i.e.*, the Danes, from Huntingdon and from the East Angles, went and wrought the work at Tempsford, and inhabited it, and *built* and forsook the other at Huntingdon. This authority also narrates that in the autumn of the same year the troops of King Eadweard reduced the burgh at Huntingdon and repaired and renovated it, where it was before in a state of ruin; and that all the folk that were left there of the peasantry submitted to King Eadweard, and sought his peace and his protection.

The earliest coins we have which bear the name of this mint are a few specimens struck there under Eadwig. The writer has an

VOL. VII.

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unpublished example by the moneyer Hildulf, a name which also occurs upon a coin of Eadred, so it is not unlikely that coins were issued at Huntingdon at a date anterior to the reign of Eadwig. But, be this as it may, coinage at Huntingdon was continued under all Eadwig's Anglo-Saxon and Danish successors, with the sole exception that of Eadweard the Martyr no coin of this mint has yet been recorded.

Huntingdon was within the territory of Siward, Earl of Northumberland and of Huntingdon, and on his death in 1055 it passed to his son Waltheof, who married Judith, a niece of William I. Earl Waltheof was one of those notable persons whom William took with him to Normandy in the Lent of 1067. Orderic, Book iv, Chap. IV, records that in 1068 the Conqueror erected a castle at Huntingdon and placed in it a garrison composed of his bravest soldiers. *Domesday* informs us that twenty houses had been destroyed to make room for this castle. The mount, of large size, is still in evidence in the grounds of Castle Hill House. There are two passages in the Domesday record of Huntingdon that are of exceptional interest in relation to its direct numismatic history. The first states that "Huntedun Borough was answerable to the king's geld for a fourth part of Hyrstingestan hundred for fifty hides, but now it is not so taxed in that hundred, *since King William imposed the tax of the mint upon the borough.*" The second records that "In this borough there *were* three moneyers rendering forty shillings between the king and the earl, *but now they are not.*" These statements together afford the information that formerly the mint of Huntingdon was a royal mint and that its payments were receivable, presumably, as to two-thirds, by the king, and, as to the remaining third, by the earl, as owner of the *tertius denarius* of the county and borough. That at some time prior to the compilation of Domesday, possibly upon the death of Waltheof in 1075, the king had taken the borough into his own hands and had farmed the mint to the burgesses. As our existing coins of Huntingdon show that the mint was in operation at the time when Domesday records that the "moneyers are not," the statement can only mean that as officers accounting to the crown the moneyers were no longer existent for the purpose of this fiscal record.

A reference to our appended list of the recorded specimens of coins struck at Huntingdon under William I. and II. discloses that Type III of the former and Type 5 of the latter king are the only absentees. Both are uncommon types, and there would seem to be no reason for their absence other than the accident of non-discovery or non-disclosure. Whether as a royal mint, in which the earl had only a third share, or as a mint rented by the burgesses, the coinage emanating from it would, we may reasonably assume, have been of a continuous character. In conclusion, we would add that certain coins by the moneyer Sæwine formerly attributed to Huntingdon have proved upon investigation to belong to Southampton, and that the mysterious moneyer "Gypat" is a cataloguer's disguise of the perfectly good Anglo-Saxon name *Siwate*.

WILLIAM I.

Type I :—

† * **GODRIC ON HVNT**, from O'Hagan sale, 1907, Lot 402, Plate XVIII, Fig. 1.

Mule : obverse Type I, reverse Type II :—

* * **GODRIC ON HVNTED**, Plate XVIII, Fig. 2.

Type II :—

† * **GODRIC ON HVNTED**, struck over a coin of Harold II.; new obverse over old reverse, and *vice versa*. From Wigan and L. A. Lawrence, Lot 39, collections. Illustrated, vol. ii, Plate I, Fig. 13, and Plate XVIII, Fig. 3.

* **GODRIC ON HVNT**

" " " **HVNTTE**

" " " **HVNTEN**

* " " " **HVNTI**, York Find, 1845 (2).

* **GODPINE ON HVN**, York Museum.

Type III :—

No example hitherto noted.

Type IV :—

† * **GODRIC ON HVNTEN**, Plate XVIII, Fig. 4.

" " " **HVNT**, Lloyd, 1857, Lot 45.

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Type V :—

✱ **GODPINE ON HVT**

Type VI :—

† ✱ **GODPINE ON HVTD**, another, Lieut.-Colonel H. W. Morrieson, †Plate XVIII, Fig. 5.

Type VII :—

✱ **IELFPNE ON H**, Cuff, Lot 682.

Type VIII :—

✱ **IEOLPINE ON HV**, (**HV** ligulate).

” ” ” **HVN** (**VN** ligulate), reading retrograde.

✱ **IELFPINE ON HVN**

* ” ” ” **HVT**, Beaworth, 5.

† ” ” ” ” Allen, Lot 314, Plate XVIII, Fig. 6.

WILLIAM II.

Type 1 :—

† ✱ **SIPATE ON HNTED**, Plate XVIII, Fig. 7.

Type 2 :—

* ✱ **SIPAT ON HVTD** (or **HNTD**), from Allen, Lot 314, Plate XVIII, Fig. 8.

Type 3 :—

✱ **GODPINE ON HVTD**, Spicer MS.

✱ **SIPATE ON HVT**, FitzWilliam Museum, Cambridge.
Reverse only, Plate XVIII,
Fig. 9.

Type 4 :—

✱ **IELFPINE ON HVN**, Spicer MS.

Type 5 :—

No example hitherto noted.

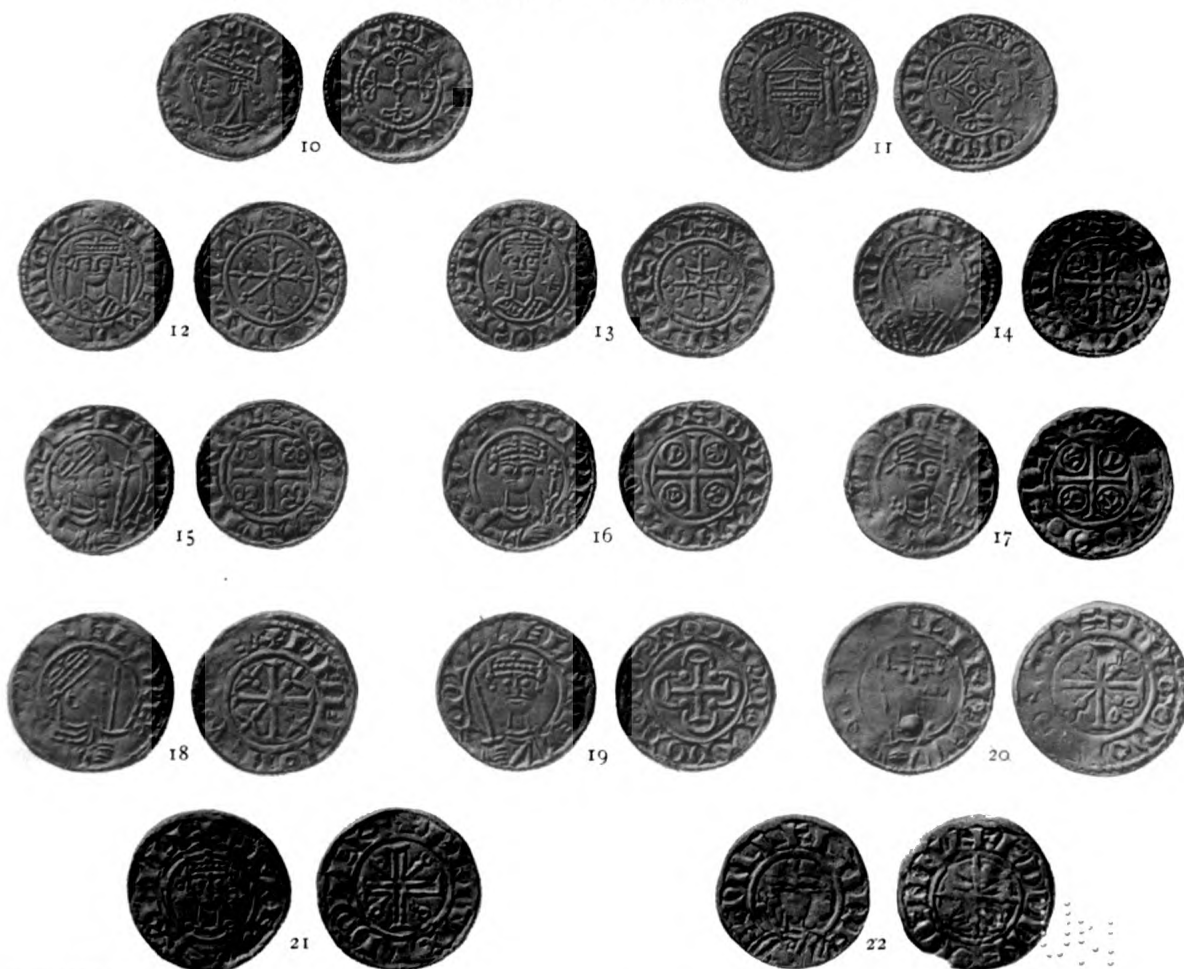
KENT :—D.B. *Chenth.*

CANTERBURY :—D.B. *Civitas Cantuariæ.*

This ancient city, capital of the former kingdom of Kent and the chief episcopal see of Britain, has a numismatic history surpassed by that of no other place within these realms. It is not improbable that ancient British coins were issued here, as well as some of the early



THE HUNTINGDON MINT.
WILLIAM I. FIGURES 1 TO 6.
WILLIAM II. FIGURES 7 TO 9.



THE CANTERBURY MINT.
WILLIAM I. FIGURES 10 TO 17.
WILLIAM II. FIGURES 18 TO 22.

LONDON STEREOSCOPIC CO

PLATE XVIII.



gold coins of the weight of the Roman *triens* or *tremissis*, that are from time to time found in Kent, and certain of the early Anglo-Saxon sceattas which preceded the issue of the silver pennies. It is outside the scope of our present work to do more than refer to the several series of silver pennies of the kings of Kent, and of the Archbishops of Canterbury, which had their origin here. Particulars of these and of the Canterbury coins of all our Anglo-Saxon and Danish kings from Ecgbeorht to Harold II. are to be found within the covers of our standard numismatic works. Upon these the ancient name of Canterbury, *Dorobernia* or some kindred form of designation, appears until and during the reign of Æthelstan, while the form *Caentwaraburh* had become usual under Eadgar.

It may here be remarked that the penny of Æthelstan read by Signor de Rossi, in his instructive account of *A Treasure of Anglo-Saxon Money found in the House of the Vestals, Rome, 1884*, **EADGILD MO LANTVN VRB**, and ascribed by him to Canterbury, cannot in reality be of that city, as the inferior designation *urbs* would not have been used in the case of a place entitled to the superior rank of *civitas*. The coin perhaps reads **EADGILD MON ANTVN VRB**, and in that case belongs to Southampton, or it may read **EADGILD MO TANTVN VRB**, and thus supply the earliest known coin of Taunton.

The hoard in question contained no fewer than twenty coins of Æthelstan struck at Canterbury. These disclose the name of five moneyers and have some abbreviation of *Dorobernia Civitas* to indicate the mint-place, the most complete being **DÖR CIVIT**, but they are, in error, assigned to Dorchester.

Under the laws of Æthelstan, so often already alluded to in this work, seven moneyers are allotted to Canterbury, four of the king, two of the bishop, and one of the abbot. Here the archbishop and the abbot of St. Augustine's are the dignitaries referred to as "bishop" and "abbot."

Domesday contains no reference to mint or moneyers at Canterbury, so we must conclude that at the time of its compilation there were no moneyers directly responsible to the king.

It will be seen from the appended list of coins that specimens of all the types of William I. and II. of this mint are preserved to us. The number of names of distinctly different moneyers does not exceed four upon any type, except upon Type VIII of William I., whereon eight separate names occur, namely, Ælfred, Brihtwold, Burnoth, Godric, Simær, Winedi, Wulbold and Wulfric. These perhaps represent only the full number of seven moneyers allotted under the laws of Æthelstan, as one at least of the seven may have been replaced by another during the issue of Type VIII. The apparent increase in number may be due only to the circumstance that we have preserved to us a larger number of specimens of Type VIII than we have of any other type of the coinages of the two Williams. The coins do not enable us to distinguish between those issued by the moneyers of the king, the archbishop and the abbot. The names of the moneyers afforded a sufficient distinguishment at the time, and we can only regret that we have no records of this period which preserve the information for us.

WILLIAM I.

Type I :—

- * ✠ **EADPEARD ON EA**, another, the late F. G. Hilton Price.
- * ✠ **MANNA ON LATPI**
- † * " " " **EAT**, †from the Wilcox sale, Glendining's, January, 1908, Plate XVIII, Fig. 10.
- * " " " **[E]AI**, variety without sceptre; refer to Exeter. Both coins are probably of Canterbury.
- † * ✠ **PVLFRED ON LATPAI**
- * ✠ **PVIFRED ON LANT**
- * ✠ **PVFRED ON LANT**

Type II :—

- * ✠ **MANNA ON [E]AN**, York Museum, from York Find, 1845.

Type III :—

- * ✠ **MANN ON LANPAI**, St. Mary Hill Church Find, Plate XVIII, Fig. 11.
- † [* - - -] **PINE ON LANTO**, from sale at Sotheby's, April 30th, 1904.
- * ✠ **PVLPINE ON LANPA**, St. Mary Hill Church Find.

Type IV :—

- * * **EADPINE ON ENT**, the late Sir John Evans.
- * * **MAN ON LANTVLBI**, Plate XVIII, Fig. 12.
- * * **SIEGELPINE ON LANT**
- * * **PVLFRIC ON LANT**, Montagu, 1897, Lot 69; also O'Hagan, 1907, Lot 409.

Type V :—

- * * **IELFRED ON ENT**, Beaworth Find.
- * * **IELFRD ON ENTLEI**
- * * **MAN ON LANTVL**, Plate XVIII, Fig. 13.
- * * **MANN ON LANTAB**
- * * **MANNA ON ENT**, a Gentleman, January, 1860, Lot 116.
- * * **MMNA ON ENT**, the late Sir John Evans.
- * * **PVLFRIC ON LANT**
- * " " " **LA**
- " " " **ENT**, Lieut.-Colonel H. W. Morrieson.

Type VI :—

- * * **ÆLFRED ON LANPAR**, Beaworth Find, Plate XVIII, Fig. 14.
- * * **PVLFPINE ON ETL**, Ruding, Plate I, Fig. 13.

Type VII :—

- † * **GODRIC ON ENTLE**, illustrated, vol. ii, p. 159, Fig. L, and Plate XVIII, Fig. 15.
- † * **PV[LFRIC ON EN]TLE**, a fragment.

Type VIII :—

- * * **IELFRED ON ENT**, Beaworth, 13.
- " " " **ENTL**, Beaworth, 4.
- * " " " **ENTII**, Beaworth, 1.
- † " " " **ENTLI**, Beaworth, 8.
- * " " " **ENTL** } var., no ornament on either
- * " " " **ENTLI** } shoulder of the king. Beaworth, 2.
- † * * **IELREI ON ENTLEBI** } 2.
- * * **IELFRIED ON ENT**, Beaworth, 18.
- * * **BRIHTPOD ON EN**, Beaworth, 6.
- * " " " **ENT**, Beaworth, 7.
- † * " " " **ETL**, Beaworth, 4.
- * " " " **ONTLI** } Beaworth, 9.
- † * " " " **EN** } No ornament on either shoulder.
- † * " " " " } † Illustrated, vol. ii, Plate III, Fig. 63, and Plate XVIII, Fig. 16.
- * * **BRIHTPOD ON EN** } Beaworth, 2.
- † " " " " } No ornament on either shoulder.

- † * ✱ **BVRNOD ON ENT**L, Beaworth, 3, †Plate XVIII, Fig. 17.
 * ✱ **GODRIC ON ENT**L, Beaworth, 4.
 * " " " **ENT**LE, Beaworth, 3.
 * " " " **ENT**LEI, Beaworth, 7.
 * " " " **ENT**LI, Beaworth, 9.
 † " " " " no ornament on king's left shoulder.
 " " " **ENT**LEI, Montagu, 1896, Lot 229.
 * ✱ **SIMIER ON ENT**L, Beaworth, 24.
 † * " " " **ENT**LE, Beaworth, 16.
 † * " " " **ENT**LI, Beaworth, 14.
 † * ✱ **PINDEI ON ENT**L, Beaworth, 9.
 * ✱ **PINEDI ON ENT**L, Beaworth, 15.
 * " " " **ENT**I, Beaworth, 3.
 * " " " **ENT**LE, Beaworth, 13.
 † * " " " **ENT**LI, Beaworth, 7.
 * " " " **ENT**LEB, Beaworth, 7.
 † * " " " **ENT**LIB, Beaworth, 4.
 * ✱ **PVLBOLD ON ENT**, Beaworth, 4.
 * " " " **ENT**L, Beaworth, 2.
 * " " " **ENT**I, Beaworth, 12.
 * ✱ **PVLBOD ON ENT**LI, Beaworth, 6.
 * ✱ **PVLFRIC ON ENT**, Beaworth, 14.
 * " " " **ENT**E, Beaworth, 6.
 * " " " **ENT**L, Beaworth, 12.
 * " " " **ENT**LE, Beaworth, 18.

WILLIAM II.

Type 1 :—

- * ✱ **IEIGLRIC ON ENT**LI, Tamworth Find.
 ✱ **BRIHT — — ON ENT**, Tamworth Find.
 ✱ **SEGRIM ON ENT**BI, ? a misreading.
 * ✱ **PINEDI ON ENT**LEB, Plate XVIII, Fig. 18.

Type 2 :—

- ✱ **IELFRIED ON ENT**, the late Sir John Evans.
 † ✱ **BRIHTPOD ON EN**, Plate XVIII, Fig. 19.
 ✱ **PINDEI ON ENT**L
 " " " **ENT**LEI, Spink and Son, Ltd.
 † * ✱ **PINEDI ON ENT**LE
 ✱ **PINDIE ON ENT**LEI
 " " " **ENT**LEI

Type 3 :—

- * * **ALGOD ON ENTLE**, Plate XVIII, Fig. 20.
- * **BRIHTPOD ON ENT**, FitzWilliam Museum, Cambridge.
- * **EDPINE ONTLE**, Trinity College, Cambridge.
- * [* **PI**] **NEDI ON ENTLE**[E]
- * **PVLFPINE ON ETL**
- * [] **ONTL**

Type 4 :—

- * **ALFRIED ONENTL**, from Cuff, Lot 678, and Murchison sales, Lot 20.
- * **ALFRIID ON EN**, Lewin Sheppard sale, July, 1860, Lot 132.
- † * **ÆLDRED ON ENT**
- * **IELFPORD ON ENTB**, Christmas sale, Lot 225.
- * * **BRIHTPOD ON ENT**, from a sale at Christie's, March 2nd, 1911, Plate XVIII, Fig. 21.
- * **SIMIER ON ENTLE**, Trinity College, Cambridge.
- " " " **ENTLI**, ditto and Montagu, 1896, Lot 265.
- * * **PVLBOLD ON ENT**

Type 5 :—

- * * **IELDRIED ON ENT**
- * * **EDPINE ON ENTLI**, Plate XVIII, Fig. 22.
- * * **PINEDI ON ENTLI**, pierced.

DOVER :—D.B. *Dovere*.

Although this ancient seaport and borough has an origin extending to a period prior to the first visit of Julius Cæsar to these islands, its numismatic history commences at a comparatively late period of our Anglo-Saxon monarchy.

Dover was one of those places which subsequently received the collective name of the Cinque Ports, and its earliest coins are those struck under Æthelræd II. We shall see, in the subsequent accounts of the Kentish mints, that coinage at Romney began at the same period as that at Dover, whilst the mints at the remaining Kentish Cinque Ports, Hythe and Sandwich, were not instituted until the reign of Edward the Confessor. Coins struck at Dover under all of the Anglo-Saxon and Danish successors of Æthelræd II. are in

evidence in our cabinets of to-day. The account of Dover occupies the premier place in the entire Domesday survey, but it contains no reference to mint or moneyers. We give the following extract :—

“Dover in the time of King Edward rendered £18 of which pennies King Edward had two parts and Earl Godwine the third. Against this the canons of St. Martin had the other middle part. The burgesses gave 20 ships to the king for one occasion in the year to the extent of 15 days, and in each of these ships there were 21 men. This they did for him because he had remitted to them their sac and soc.”

Orderic, Book iii, Chap. XIV, narrates that after the battle of Hastings the Conqueror marched to Romney, and, after taking it by assault, continued his march to Dover. The garrison were preparing to surrender, when some Norman squires, greedy for spoil, set the place on fire, and the devouring flames spreading around, many parts were ruined and burnt. Domesday tells the same story by recording that when King William first arrived in England the town was burnt, and for that reason it was not possible to compute how much it was worth when the Bishop of Bayeux, the Conqueror's half-brother Odo, received it. This, according to Orderic, was in A.D. 1067. Odo's arrest, as Earl of Kent, and fall from power occurred in A.D. 1082. The coinage at Dover does not, however, appear to have been influenced by these events. The probability is that in consideration of its ship-service, the particulars of which, as given in Domesday, are set out above, Dover received full borough rights from Æthelræd II., and that the dues from the mint were included in the payments made to the king and earl. Domesday states, “Now it is worth £40 and yet the provost renders thence £54, to the king £24 which are 20 [pennies] in the ounce, to the earl £30 by tale.”

Types II, III, and VI of William I. are at present unknown to us, but as our evidence of Types I, IV and V is confined to a single example of each type, there is reason to hope that these apparent gaps may be supplied. All the types of William II. are in evidence, except Type 5, the type of which the smallest number of examples has hitherto been discovered.

WILLIAM I.

Type I :—

- * **MANPINE ON DOVO**, from Montagu, 1896, Lot 182,
Plate XIX, Fig. 1.

Types II and III :—

No examples hitherto noted.

Type IV :—

- † * **MANPINE ON DOVO**, from L. A. Lawrence sale, Lot 50,
Plate XIX, Fig. 2.

Type V :—

- * **MANPINE ON DOF**, Ruding, Plate I, Fig. 10.

Type VI :—

No example hitherto noted.

Type VII :—

- * * **CINSTAN ON DOFI**, Plate XIX, Fig. 3.
- † * **LIFPINE ON DOFR**, from the late F. G. Hilton Price's
collection, Plate XIX, Fig. 4.

Type VIII :—

- † * * **EDPORD ON DOFRE**, Beaworth, Fig. 3, †Plate XIX,
Fig. 5.
- † * **GODPINE ON DOF**, Beaworth, 3.
- * **GOLDPINE ON DOF**, Tamworth, 1.
- * " " " **DOFI**, Beaworth, 1.
- * " " " **DOFR**, Beaworth, 7.
- * " " " **DOFRE**, Cuff, Lot 694.
- † * * **GOLDPIINE ON DOF**, Beaworth, 5, Plate XIX, Fig. 6.
- * * **GOLDPIE ON DOFRE**, Beaworth, 8.
- * **GOLPIE ON DOFRE**
- † * * **LIFPINE ON DOER**, Beaworth, 21.
- * " " " **DOF**, Beaworth, 4.
- * " " " **DOFI**, Beaworth, 1.
- * " " " **DOFRE**, Beaworth, 5.
- * " " " **DOFRI**, Beaworth, 7.
- * " " " **DOFRN**, Beaworth, 3.
- * * **LVFRIE ON DOFRI**, Beaworth, 2.
- † * * **LVLFRIC ON DOFR**, Beaworth, 18.
- * " " " **DOFRI**, Beaworth, 7.

WILLIAM II.

Type 1 :—

* ✠ **LIFPINE ON DOFRI**, pierced, Plate XIX, Fig. 7.

Mule : obverse, Type 1, reverse, Type 2 :—

† ✠ **LVFRIC ON DOF[R]**, illustrated, vol. ii, p. 173, Fig. Q,
and Plate XIX, Fig. 8.* " " " **DOFRE**

Type 2 :—

† ✠ **GODPINE ON DOF**, var., large pellet to left of the king's
face. † Illustrated, vol. ii, Plate
IV, Fig. 70, and Plate XIX,
Fig. 9.* ✠ **LIFPINE ON DOFR**, another, R. Cyril Lockett, var., a
crescent or segment of a circle,
in the upper and lower curves
of the quatrefoil on the reverse,
Plate XIX, Fig. 10.* " " " **ONDOFR**
✠ **LVFRIC ON DOFR**

Type 3 :—

† ✠ **MANPINE ONDOF**, Plate XIX, Fig. 11.* [] **ONDOF**

Type 4 :—

* ✠ **LIFPINE ON DFR**, var., Hks. 249; another, H. M. Rey-
nolds, from Cuff and Rostron
collections. Illustrated, vol. ii,
p. 178, Fig. T. The B.M. speci-
men, Plate XIX, Fig. 12.

Type 5 :—

No example hitherto noted.

HYTHE :—D.B. *Hede*, *Burgus Hedæ*.

This borough and seaport derives its name from the Anglo-Saxon *hyð*, signifying coast, port, haven. Our numismatic evidence shows that the place rose into importance in the time of Edward the Confessor, during whose reign coinage here was first instituted. The penny of Cnut attributed to Hythe by Mr. Grueber, *British Museum Catalogue*, vol. ii, p. 274, No. 253, and read by him ✠ **SÆPINE OL HYÐA**, in fact reads ✠ **SÆPINE O LHVDA**, as a reference to the



1



2



3



4



5



6



7



8



9



10



11



12

THE DOVER MINT.
WILLIAM I. FIGURES 1 TO 6.
WILLIAM II. FIGURES 7 TO 12.



13



14



15



16



17



18



19



20



21

LONDON STEREOSCOPIC CO.

THE HYTHE MINT.
WILLIAM I. FIGURES 13 TO 18.
WILLIAM II. FIGURES 19 TO 21.

PLATE XIX.



illustration, Plate XVIII, 10, of the same work discloses. A similar coin is correctly ascribed by Hildebrand to Lydford, in company with four other varying specimens by the same moneyer (Nos. 2862-2866, Cnut, in Hildebrand). In like manner, and also on the authority of Mr. Grueber, we find a penny of Harold I. attributed to Hythe. The reading given is **✠ EDRIC ON HDE**, and the description states "extremely rare, an unpublished mint of this reign" (see *Montagu Sale Catalogue*, 2nd portion, No. 73). The coin was acquired by Messrs. Spink in May, 1896, and through their courtesy the writer has recently inspected this misdescribed piece, which remains in their hands. It reads **✠ EDRIC ONN DE**, and is similar to No. 947 of Hildebrand, who correctly ascribes it, with four other coins by the same moneyer, to Thetford. Upon these the forms **DE**, **DEO**, **DEOD** and **DEODF** occur, so no doubt can remain as to the intention to indicate Thetford and not Hythe.

There are, however, undoubted coins of the Hythe mint issued under Edward the Confessor, but we do not know of any specimens of Harold II.'s coinage struck there.

It would seem that Hythe rose as Lymne declined, and that the mint at the former took the place of that which had continuously existed at Lymne from the reign of Eadgar. Both places were under the lordship of the Archbishop of Canterbury, so the transfer of the mint from the decayed and silted-up port of Lymne to the nearly adjoining and comparatively new haven at Hythe would be a reasonable change easy of accomplishment.

Hythe is only twice incidentally mentioned in Domesday. At folio 4a it is recorded that six burgesses in Hythe (Hede) pertain to Lyminge (Leminges), held by the archbishop in demesne, and at folio 4b it is stated that Hugh de Montfort holds Saltwood (Salteode) of the Archbishop, and that to this manor belong two hundred and twenty-five burgesses in the borough of Hythe (in Burgo hedæ).

The charter granted by King John to Hythe in June, 1205, refers to that port's charter from Henry II., and the privileges are to be enjoyed as in the times of Edward, William I., William II., and Henry I.

Domesday is silent as to the mint at Hythe, and equally so as to its moneyers, but as there is no specific account of the borough this cannot occasion surprise.

Our coins and the charter of King John show that Hythe was one of a group of towns performing special ship-service, in return for which, we assume, that it had special privileges, including the right to a mint from the time of Edward the Confessor.

As already mentioned we are at present unaware of the existence of any coin of Harold II. struck at Hythe, and the same remark applies equally to Types I to VII, inclusive, of William I. Type VIII is represented by under twenty coins, all by the same moneyer, Edred or Edræd, whose name also occurs upon coins of Hythe of William II. of Types 1, 2 and 4. These are all of great rarity, and we may reasonably consider that, as Hythe only employed the services of one moneyer, the output there was never very large. The name of Edræd as a moneyer does not occur elsewhere in either reign. Whether coins of Harold II. and of the first seven types of the Conqueror struck at this mint will one day come to light we do not venture to predict, but we are confident that Types 3 and 5 of Rufus should be forthcoming. Any specimens of these types whereon the name of Edræd or Edred is discernible should be carefully looked for.

WILLIAM I.

Types I to VII :—

No examples hitherto noted.

Type VIII :—

- | | | | | |
|---|---|------------------------|--------------------------------------|---|
| * | ✠ | EDRED ON HIDE , | Beaworth, 12, Plate XIX, Fig. 13. | |
| † | " | " " | from Allen sale, Lot 316, Plate XIX, | |
| | | | Fig. 14. | |
| * | " | " HIDEN , | Beaworth, 2, Plate XIX, Fig. 15. | } no ornament
on either
shoulder. |
| † | * | " HIIDN •, | Beaworth, 1, Plate XIX, | |
| | | | Fig. 16* and Fig. 17.† | |
| * | " | " HIIDN , | Beaworth, 1, Plate XIX, Fig. 18. | |

WILLIAM II.

Type 1 :—

✠ **EDRED ON HIDE**

” ” ” **HIDN**, Allen, Lot 315.

Type 2 :—

* ✠ **EDRIED ON HIDE**, Plate XIX, Fig. 19.

* ” ” ” **HDE**, Plate XIX, Fig. 20.

Type 3 :—

No examples hitherto noted.

Type 4 :—

† ✠ **EDRIED ON DE**, illustrated, vol. ii, Plate IV, Fig. 82, and Plate XIX, Fig. 21.

Type 5 :—

No example hitherto noted.

ROCHESTER :—D.B. *Civitas Rovecestre*.

Rochester as an episcopal see, and consequently as a city, dates from the lifetime of St. Augustine, and its numismatic history extends to the reign of Ecgbearht and before.

Under the laws of Æthelstan three moneyers were assigned to Rochester, two of these being of the king and one of the bishop. Only a single specimen of the coinage of that king struck here has survived to us. It is of the variety with the bust of the king and reads on the reverse ✠ **HVNGAR MO ROF CIVIT** (see Lindsay's *Coinage of the Heptarchy*, Plate IV, 108).¹ There are four pellets in the field, around the central cross, a distinction from the normal type which suggests that the coin was issued by the moneyer of the bishop. The name of this mint does not again appear upon our coins until the reign of Eadgar, but from that date until the time of Harold II., the only reign unrepresented by coins of Rochester is that of Eadweard the Martyr.

Apart from incidental notices the account of Rochester in Domesday (folio 2a) is limited to two lines, of which the following is a translation :—

¹ This unique coin is now in the collection of Mr. Thomas Bliss.

"The City of Rochester in the time of King Edward was worth 100 shillings. When the bishop received it the like. Now it is worth £20, yet he who holds it renders £40."

We infer that "the bishop" here means Odo, Bishop of Bayeux, who, doubtless, received the king's interest therein, as in the case of Dover, on his being made Earl of Kent in A.D. 1067. On the fall from power and imprisonment of the Earl of Kent in 1082, we suppose that Rochester reverted to the king, and that at the time of Domesday it was farmed, probably to the sheriff, at a rent of £40, or double its nominal value.

The coins of this mint struck under William I. and II. have not been preserved to us in large numbers and, so far, no examples of Types I, III, V, VI and VII of the former king have come to our notice, but all the types of William II., except the last, are represented.

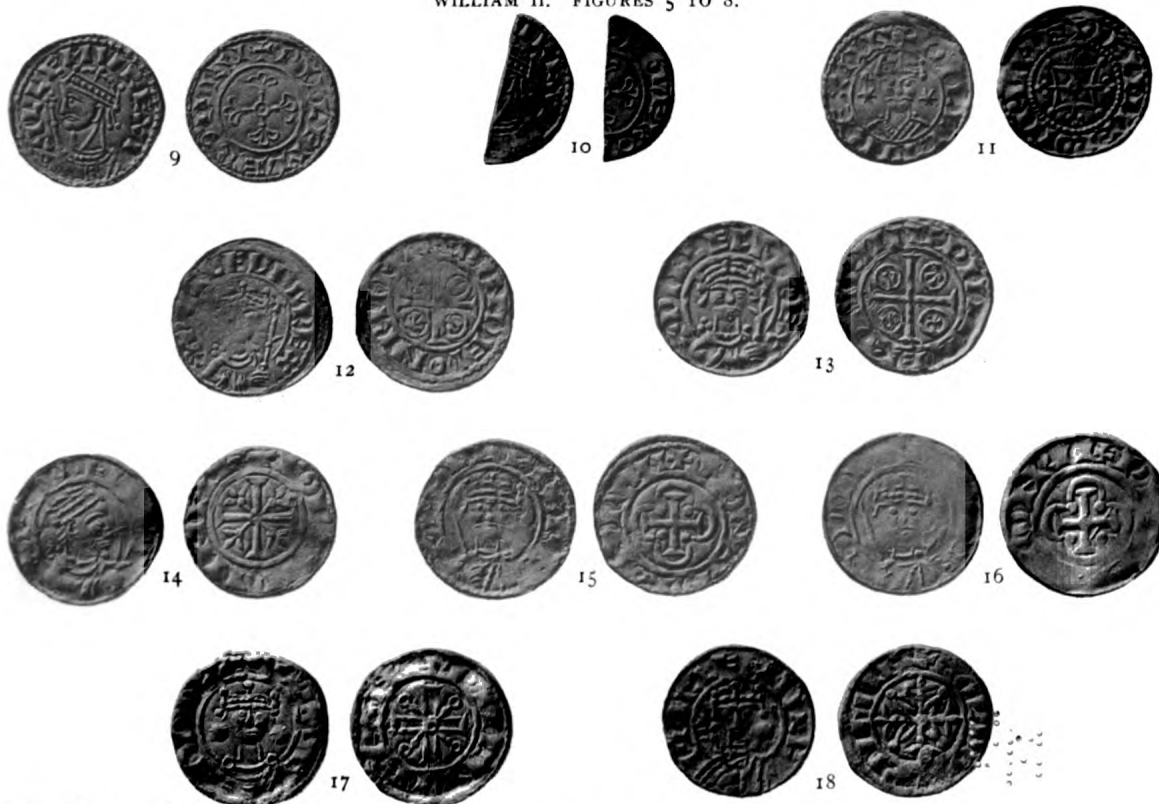
The known coins do not disclose the names of more than two moneyers in any one type. There would seem to be no reason why the successive bishops of Rochester under the two kings should not have continuously exercised the right of coinage, and we are disposed to think that the same may be said in regard to the two moneyers originally of the king.

If the right to these passed to Odo in 1067 it reverted to the king in 1082, and it seems to be reasonable to conjecture, in the absence of exact knowledge, that the person who had the city at farm at the rent of £40, double its legal value at the date of Domesday, would have included in his holding the privilege to employ the two moneyers formerly of the king.

It is unlikely that the right of the bishop would have been extended so as to include more than one moneyer, but in Types IV and VIII of William I. we have the names of two moneyers, and in Type 4 of William II. the like number, so that, unless we concede a change of moneyer of the bishop during the time of issue of each of three separate types, we must conclude either that the bishop did not ever exercise his right of coinage or that one at least of the two



THE ROCHESTER MINT.
WILLIAM I. FIGURES 1 TO 4.
WILLIAM II. FIGURES 5 TO 8.



THE ROMNEY MINT.
WILLIAM I. FIGURES 9 TO 13.
WILLIAM II. FIGURES 14 TO 18.

LONDON STEREOSCOPIC CO.

PLATE XX.



originally royal moneyers was at work during the issue of the three types referred to.

Our knowledge of the existence of a type at Rochester depends in several cases upon the preservation of a single coin, so we feel it to be safer to assume that if a larger number of specimens were discovered we should find that there was a continuous coinage throughout the two reigns, both on the part of the king, or his grantee, and on that of the bishop.

WILLIAM I.

Type I :—

No example hitherto noted.

Type II :—

✱ **LIFTAN ON ROFEES**, York Museum, Plate XX, Fig. 1.

Type III :—

No example hitherto noted.

Type IV :—

✱ **GODFRIED ON ROF**, Spicer MS. ? a misreading of **GVDRIED**.

† ✱ **LIFSTAN O ROFSLEI**, from L. A. Lawrence, Plate XX, Fig. 2.

Types V, VI and VII :—

No examples hitherto noted.

Type VIII :—

† ✱ ✱ **LIFSTAN ON ROFI**, Beaworth, 3, plus one attributed to Dover. †Plate XX, Fig. 3.

✱ " " " **ROFEIS**, Beaworth, 1.

✱ **LIFPINE HORN ONRO**, Beaworth, 5, Plate XX, Fig. 4.

WILLIAM II.

Type 1 :—

✱ ✱ **GVDRED ON ROFEL**, Tamworth Find, corrected from **GIFTRED**, Plate XX, Fig. 5.

Type 2 :—

† ✱ ✱ **GVDRIED ON ROFI**, B.M. specimen from the Tamworth Find, †Plate XX Fig. 6.

VOL. VII.

C

Type 3 :—

† * **PVLFPINE ON ROF**, overstruck on a coin of Type 2, the reverse design of which is distinctly visible through that of the new obverse. Illustrated, vol. ii, Plate IV, Fig. 74, and Plate XX, Fig. 7.

Type 4 :—

* * **IELSTAN OMROFE**, Plate XX, Fig. 8.
 * * **GVÐRIED OMROFI**

Type 5 :—

No example hitherto noted.

ROMNEY :—D.B. *Romenel*.

The numismatic history of Romney is very similar to that of Dover. Both places were of the confederation subsequently known as the Cinque Ports, and coinage began at each in the reign of Æthelræd II. It is probable that coins were continuously issued at Romney, as at Dover, under all of his Saxon and Danish successors, but the writer has no record of any coin of Harthacnut struck at this mint.

No substantive account of the borough of Romney is contained in Domesday Book, but the incidental references show that the burgesses enjoyed certain privileges and immunities on account of their sea or ship service.

Coins of the Romney mint are of considerable rarity, with the exception of those of Type I of William I. The presence of the numerous examples of this issue in our cabinets to-day is probably due to the accident of local discovery, as it is mentioned by the Rev. Dr. Guyon Griffith in *Archæologia*, vol. iv, p. 358, that in June, 1739, there was found at Dymchurch, in Romney Marsh, an earthen vessel containing about 200 pennies of Edward the Confessor, Harold II. and William the Conqueror. He adds that there were many exact halves and quarters intermixed with the whole pennies.

Examples struck here of Types III, IV and VII of William I.

are at present unrecorded, but Type 3 is now the only absentee from our list of Romney coins of William II.

In our opinion the right of coinage was vested in the burgesses and was, consequently, of a continuous character, and we therefore think that there is reason to hope that the existing lacunæ may be supplied. It has been the good fortune of the present writer to acquire the first Romney examples of Types 1 and 4 of Rufus to be placed on record. Coinage was continued here under Henry I.

WILLIAM I.

Type I :—

† * * **PVLFMÆR ON RV**, Plate XX, Fig. 9.

† --- **LFMÆR OI** ---, cut halfpenny, illustrated, vol. ii, Plate I, Fig. 9, and Plate XX, Fig. 10.

Type II :—

* **CONDINR ON RVNI**, Spicer MS., probably a misreading.

Types III and IV :—

No examples hitherto noted.

Type V :—

* * **IELMIER ON RVME**, Plate XX, Fig. 11.

Type VI :—

* **IELMIER ON RVME**, Christie's, December 2nd, 1899.

Type VII :—

No example hitherto noted.

Type VIII :—

† * **PINDEI ON RVMN**, var., **PAXO** instead of **PAXS**, Plate XX, Fig. 12.

* " " " " Beaworth, 5.

* " " " **RVMNÉ**, Beaworth, 7.

* * **PINEDEI ON RVME**, Beaworth, 1.

* * **PVLMIER ON RIM**, Beaworth, 7.

* " " " **RVI**, Beaworth, 1.

† * " " " **RVM**, Beaworth, 9, Plate XX, Fig. 13.

" " " **RVME**

WILLIAM II.

Type 1 :—

† * **LOL ON RVMNE**, Plate XX, Fig. 14.

C 2

Type 2 :—

- * **LILNRIED ON ROM**, sale, May 27th, 1850, Lot 31;
probably a misreading.
- † * **PINEDI ON RVM**, from L. A. Lawrence sale, Lot 80,
Plate XX, Fig. 15.
- * * **PV[LMIER] ONRV**, Plate XX, Fig. 16.

Type 3 :—

No example hitherto noted.

Type 4 :—

- † * **PVLMIER ONR**, large "annulet" on each shoulder of the
king, Plate XX, Fig. 17.

Type 5 :—

- * **GOLD ON RVMNE**, B. Roth, from L. A. Lawrence sale,
Lot 81, Plate XX, Fig. 18.
- * **PINEDI ON RVN**, inspected at Messrs. Rollin and
Feuardent's in February, 1911.

SANDWICH :—D.B. *Sanā'wic*, *Sanā'wice*, *Sanwic*.

Although the general history of this ancient port and borough would warrant a longer numismatic record than its coins disclose to us, it would seem that, in common with Hythe, coinage in fact began here under Edward the Confessor. It is true that Ruding gives the mint-readings **SAN** and **SANDVVI** under Cnut, but as the same list includes the name of the moneyer **GODWINE CAS** as a mint name and it is queried to "Godmancester," this is not very reliable; nor have we any greater confidence in Mr. Grueber's attribution of a coin of Æthelræd II. to Sandwich. It is read * **SPARTEAR M'O SAN** (see *Brit. Mus. Cat.*, vol. ii, p. 233, coin No. 309). A reference to Hildebrand, coins Nos. 3541-3544, 3548-3554 and 3556-3560 of Æthelræd II., affords sufficient evidence that the British Museum coin is of the Stamford mint. If confirmation be wanted it is found in the circumstance that no coins struck at Sandwich of Cnut, Harold I. or Harthacnut are known to us.

Sandwich coins of Edward the Confessor are by no means common, but most of the types of his money were struck there and are represented in our collections of to-day. They are all by a moneyer

named Leofwine, if we transfer to Stamford a moneyer whose name is read **FAREHIR**, *Brit. Mus. Cat.*, vol. ii, p. 424, coin No. 1151, who is probably the **FÆRGRIN** (Færgrim) of coin No. 1233 *op. cit.*

Of the short reign of Harold II. no coin struck at Sandwich has yet been recorded.

In Domesday, the account of Sandwich is included in that of the lands of the Archbishop of Canterbury. The following translation of the entry is of some interest :—

“ Sandwich (Sandwice) lies in its own Hundred. The Archbishop holds this borough and it is for the clothing of the monks, and it renders the like service to our king as Dover, and the men here testify concerning this borough that before King Edward had given it to the Holy Trinity it used to render to the king £15. At the time of the death of King Edward it was not at a rent. When the Archbishop received it it rendered £40 for rent and 40,000 herrings for the sustenance of the monks. In the year in which this survey is made Sandwich (Sanuuic) renders £50 for rent, and herrings as before. In the time of King Edward there were in that place 307 ‘hospited’ (*hospitatae*) houses, now there are 76 more, that is together 383.”

From this account it would seem that until granted by Edward the Confessor to the Holy Trinity, in effect to the Archbishop of Canterbury, this was a royal borough farmed to the burgesses, but that at the time of Edward's death, 5th January, 1066, Stigand, then Archbishop of Canterbury, held the borough in demesne, but that when the archbishop of Domesday's time, Lanfranc, received it, it was farmed to the burgesses at a rent of £40. Stigand was deposed on the 11th April, 1070, and Lanfranc was appointed on the 29th August, 1070. He continued until the 24th May, 1089. His successor, Anselm, was not appointed until 4th December, 1093, and he held the see until 21st April, 1109.

Our existing coins of Sandwich struck in the time of William I. are few in number. Types I, III, V and VII are unrepresented, while Types II, IV and VI depend upon one example of each. Type VIII, however, thanks to the Beaworth hoard, is well in evidence and supplies the names of three moneyers. On the other hand, every type

of William II. of this mint is known to us. It is not improbable that Stigand did not institute a coinage at Sandwich and that Type I of William I. may have never been issued here.

As soon, however, as the borough had been farmed to the burgesses, viz., about 1070, we should expect each subsequent type to appear and so may anticipate that specimens of Types III, V and VII will one day become known. That coinage here was not dependent upon there being an archbishop of Canterbury in esse is shown by the existence to-day of *all* the types of William II. of this mint. The burgesses probably continued to have the control of the mint, and whether they paid their rent to the archbishop or to the Crown it mattered not as regards the exercise of a privilege, payment for which, we assume, was included in that rent. Coinage was continued here under Henry I.

WILLIAM I.

Type I :—

No example hitherto noted.

Type II :—

✱ **ÆBE — — — NE ON SAN**, H. W. Monckton.

Type III :—

No example hitherto noted.

Type IV :—

✱ **IELFOED ON SAN**, Liverpool Museum, Plate XXI, Fig. 1.

Type V :—

No example hitherto noted.

Type VI :—

✱ **IELFOIET ON SAND**, Cuff, Lot 714.

Type VII :—

No example hitherto noted.

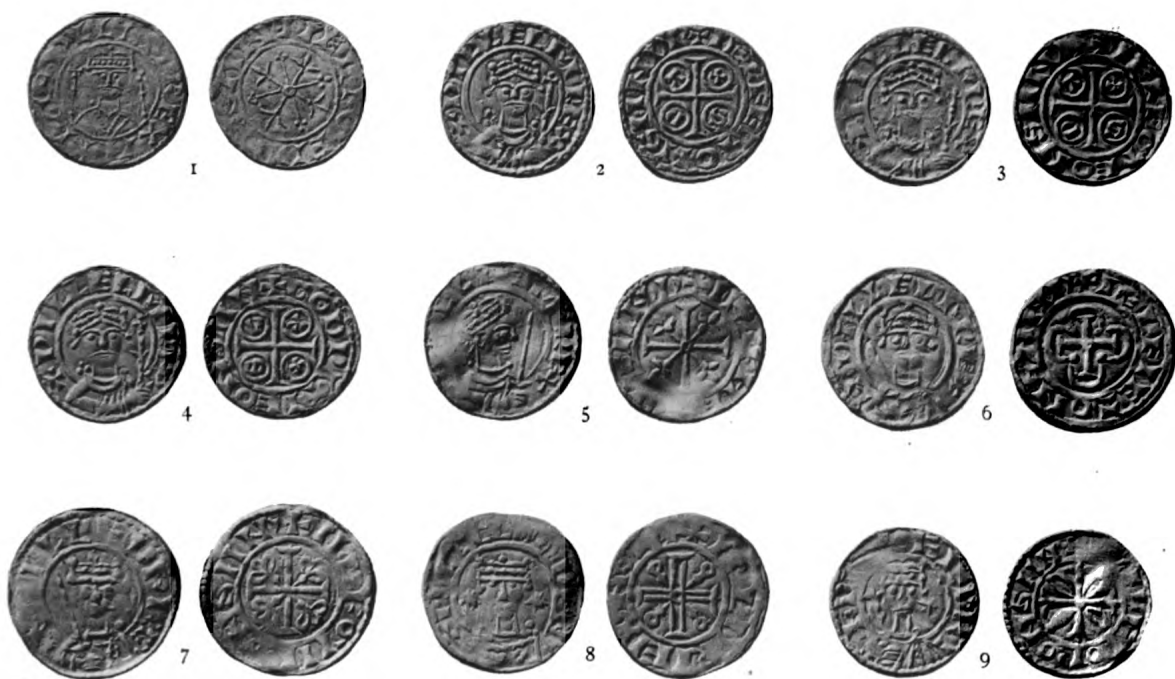
Type VIII :—

† * ✱ **IELFEH ON SANDP**, Beaworth, 4, †Plate XXI, Fig. 2.

† * ✱ **IELFOE ON SAND**, Beaworth, 13, †Plate XXI, Fig. 3.

† * ✱ **GODPINE ON SAN**, Beaworth, 17, †Plate XXI, Fig. 4.

* " " " **SAND**, Beaworth, 5.



THE SANDWICH MINT.
WILLIAM I. FIGURES 1 TO 4.
WILLIAM II. FIGURES 5 TO 9.



LONDON STEREOSCOPIC CO

THE LEICESTER MINT.
WILLIAM I. FIGURES 10 TO 15.
WILLIAM II. FIGURE 16.

PLATE XXI.



WILLIAM II.

Type 1 :—

- * ♣ **IELFOIET ON SAND**, Allen, Lot 331.
- * ♣ **IELFHE[H] ON SAND**, Tamworth Find, Plate XXI, Fig. 5.

Type 2 :—

- * ♣ **IELFIET ON SAND**, Plate XXI, Fig. 6.

Type 3 :—

- * ♣ **ALFOAD ON SAND**, Plate XXI, Fig. 7.

Type 4 :—

- † ♣ **IELDRIED ON SAN**, Plate XXI, Fig. 8.

Type 5 :—

- * ♣ **PVLFPOR ON SAN**, Plate XXI, Fig. 9.

LEICESTERSHIRE :—D.B. *Ledecestrescire*.

LEICESTER :—D.B. *Civitas de Ledecestrc*.

The county borough of Leicester, which gives its name to the shire, was the see of a bishop from A.D. 679 to some date between the years 869 and 888, when it was transferred to Dorchester in Oxfordshire. It is due to this circumstance that in Domesday it is denoted *civitas*, instead of *burgus* or *urbs*. The site has been identified with the ancient British *Cair Lerion* of Nennius and with *Ratae* of the Roman occupation of Britain. Although obscured in the Domesday appellation *Ledecestre*, other documentary and also our numismatic evidence make it clear that the usual forms of designation in Anglo-Saxon and Norman times were *Ligoraceaster*, *Lygeraceaster*, *Legraceaster*, *Leherceaster*, *Lihraceaster* and *Leireceaster*. The above are the principal forms, but many variants could be added.

Leicester was one of the Five Boroughs of the Danish Settlement, and although at Lincoln there was a coinage in the reign of Ælfred, and at Derby and Nottingham in that of Æthelstan, the earliest coins as yet correctly assigned to the remaining two of the five boroughs, viz., Leicester and Stamford, were struck under Eadgar.

The writer, however, possesses a unique round halfpenny of the type of Ælfred's best known coinage, which has around the obverse, in

lieu of the name and title of the king, the inscription * **LICIRA CIVI.** the usual small cross surrounded by an inner circle occupying the central position of the coin. The reverse has the inscription **RICO**
F ME:

for *Ricof me (fecit)*. This we may safely regard as an autonomous piece struck by the Danes at Leicester in the latter part of the reign of Ælfred. The next in our series of coins which undoubtedly bear the name of Leicester are those of Eadgar, from whose reign a regal coinage there was probably continuous until, and including, the reign of Harold II., although there has not yet been noted a coin of Eadweard the Martyr of this place.

In Domesday the account of the city of Leicester is placed at the head of the survey of Leicestershire. The entry is somewhat lengthy, but the following translation of the first portion of it supplies all that is material for our present purpose :—

“ In the time of King Edward the City of Leicester rendered yearly to the king £30 by tale of 20 [pennies] to the ounce and 15 sestars of honey. When the king went with his army by land 12 burgesses went with him from this borough. If, however, he went against an enemy by sea, they sent him four horses from the same borough to London to carry weapons or other things of which there might be need. King William now has £42 10s. by weight for all the rents of the same city and shire. For a hawk £10 by tale. For a sumpter horse 20s. From the moneyers £20 yearly of 20 [pennies] to the ounce. Of this £20 Hugh de Grentemaisnil has the third penny.”

From this account it appears that Leicester remained a royal mint at the time of Domesday and it probably so continued throughout the reigns of William I. and II. notwithstanding the grant to Hugh de Grentemaisnil by William I. of the third penny of the £20 paid yearly by the moneyers.

We have, at present, no record of any example of Types I and VI of William I. struck here, nor of Types 3, 4 and 5 of William II.

WILLIAM I.

Type I :—

No example hitherto noted.

Type II :—

* **GODRIC ON LEOEI**¹

* **LIERIE ON LERELE**, York Find, 1845, Plate XXI, Fig. 10.

Type III :—

* **IEGELPINE ON LEO**, Plate XXI, Fig. 11.

Type IV :—

* **IEGELPINE ON LEORI**, Plate XXI, Fig. 12.

Type V :—

* **IEGELPINE ON LEGI**, Plate XXI, Fig. 13.

Type VI :—

No example hitherto noted.

Type VII :—

* **IEGELPINE ON LEH**, Beaworth Find, Plate XXI, Fig. 14.

Type VIII :—

* **IEGELPINE ON LEH**

* **GODRIC ON LEHRE**, Beaworth, 19; Tamworth, 1.

† * " " " " var., Hks. 242, †Plate XXI, Fig. 15.

WILLIAM II.

Type 1 :—

* **GODRIC ON LEHRE**, Tamworth Find.

Mule: obverse, Type 1, reverse, Type 2 :—

* **GODRIC ON LEHRE**, Tamworth Find; the late Sir John Evans.

* * **GODRIC ON LEHST**, sub Chester, is probably a misreading from this coin.

Type 2 :—

* **GODRIC ON LEHRE**, Tamworth Find, 2, Plate XXI, Fig. 16.

" " " **LEH**, Tamworth Find, 2.

" " " **LHRE**, " "

Types 3, 4 and 5 :—

No examples hitherto noted.

¹ In the absence of inspection of this coin it is impossible to attribute it with certainty to this mint, as its reading will equally apply to Chester, under which heading it was therefore also inserted.

A REMARKABLE HOARD OF SILVER PENNIES AND
HALFPENNIES OF THE REIGN OF STEPHEN, FOUND
AT SHELDON, DERBYSHIRE, IN 1867.

BY W. J. ANDREW, F.S.A.

BY the courtesy of the Duke of Devonshire I am enabled to place upon record in these pages the particulars of a hoard of Norman money, comparatively small in quantity but abundant in historical interest and importance. Although discovered so long ago as in the year 1867, the coins have hitherto remained unthought of and unknown to numismatists; but fortunately intact as they were found, for they have been preserved at Chatsworth in a little box labelled "1867, Leaden vessel and 101 silver coins found at Sheldon." The leaden vessel, however, is not, as yet, forthcoming, nor is there any memory of it at Chatsworth. Probably the box was originally placed within it, but the vessel would no doubt be in a crumbling and frail condition, and little importance may have been attached at that date to its preservation.

As a matter of fact the coins number ninety-five pennies and seven cut-halfpennies; a total of 102, or one in excess of the statement on the old label, which alone is sufficient evidence to justify my assumption that the complete find has remained intact. This is a condition so rarely present in hoards submitted for critical examination that it is usually unsafe to base any theories upon negative evidence, such as the absence of a particular type. But here that difficulty does not arise, for enquiries on the site of the discovery have corroborated the presumption that the whole of the hoard is still before us.

The village of Sheldon is situated on an ancient bye-way, perhaps the original road, from Bakewell to Buxton; three miles from the former, perhaps ten from the latter, and one from Ashford-in-the-Water. It stands high on the hill-side, a thousand feet above sea level, and just without the ancient boundary of the Royal Forest of the Peak,

which was the River Wye at Ashford. With very few exceptions all the houses line the road on either side, and until about the date of the discovery an ancient chapel stood in the centre of the street.¹

In 1865-67 the old chapel was demolished and its successor erected in a field to the north of the main road. It was no doubt to this operation that the discovery was indirectly due, for the enclosure of the churchyard necessitated rearrangement of the walls of the field, and in continuing the eastern boundary wall of the burial ground across the space separating it from the houses on the road, a hole was dug for a stone gate-post and the hoard was discovered. Eye-witnesses of the find described it to me as contained in a circular leaden dish about six or eight inches in diameter and turned inwards at the sides. They estimated the number of coins at eighty or ninety, and said that the vessel with its contents was immediately handed over to the Duke's then Agent exactly as found, adding that they had never heard of a single piece having been retained.

With the coins, and labelled as found with them, were preserved at Chatsworth several fragments of painted glass. I have submitted a sample of these to Dr. Philip Nelson, who is engaged on a work upon English painted glass, and he reports as follows :—



"The fragment appears to me to be of the period *circa* A.D. 1400, and is white glass stained yellow by the application of a 'silver salt' and fired: the painted work being 'enamel-brown.' Silver staining came into use about A.D. 1300, certainly not earlier. The fragment is probably from a border and represents a portion of an heraldic bird. The glass cannot possibly be of the time of

Stephen, when, as you know, painted glass was of considerable thickness."

We must therefore dismiss from mind any question of association of the glass with the coins, and the only suggestion which occurs to

¹ See Dr. Cox's *Notes on the Churches of Derbyshire*.

me to explain its presence is that it was found in the adjoining soil, immediately after the discovery of the treasure, in the general excavation that would naturally follow in search of more. Whether it had been carted there amongst débris of the old chapel, or whether it fell from a window in the ancient hall, presently to be mentioned, is a mere problem of possibilities.

The actual site was the gateway into a small close known as "The Hall Close," and within it are the massive stone foundations of presumably a mediæval hall, upon part of which now stands a stone house facing the road, and dating from the eighteenth century. Here, no doubt, originally stood Sheldon Hall, the home of the Sheldons of Sheldon, and after we have considered the coins and ascertained the date of their deposit, I will return to this section of my subject.

During the reign of Stephen, and for more than a century after his day, England was still content with a coinage of a single denomination, namely, the silver penny with its mechanically cut halfpennies and farthings. I have elsewhere shown¹ that those fractions were so issued from the mints, and not severed by the public as had previously been thought. Farthings of this period, are, however, uncommon and none were present in the Sheldon hoard. Mr. Carlyon-Britton has from time to time, in the recent volumes of this *Journal*, tendered evidence to prove that every borough in England had the privilege of a mint in Saxon times, and the proposition must now, I think, be accepted by all those who have studied the question. It did not follow that every borough exercised the privilege, but we have coins from an average of about seventy mints during the later Anglo-Saxon dynasty. After the Conquest many of the smaller boroughs seem to have gradually abandoned their rights in this respect, until at Stephen's accession there were approximately fifty authorized mints in operation. With the exceptions of Carlisle, Durham, York, Chester, and Nottingham all these fifty mints were south of the Trent. Money in those days circulated very slowly, and if we eliminate the comparatively enormous output of London, Winchester and Canterbury, which pervaded the

¹ *A Numismatic History of the Reign of Henry I.*, pp. 9-11, 492.

country, hoards are usually composed for the most part of currency issued from the mints within a somewhat restricted radius.

For fiscal reasons the designs, or types as we call them, of the dies were changed at intervals varying from three to five years, and from time to time proclamations were made limiting the legal tender to the two or sometimes the three last issued of these types. Hence, as it was useless to store money no longer "current with the merchants,"¹ a hoard deposited under ordinary conditions might be expected to be composed of a majority of coins of the then present type, with diminishing proportions of the two preceding issues. Such coins, after setting aside perhaps a half as representing the mints of London, Winchester and Canterbury, should in the main have been issued from mints the currency of which formed the local circulating medium. Often, however, stray pieces of some long disused type, or of Scottish or Irish or Continental origin, are present; and from the frequent occasions when these exceptions of earlier types have been represented by cut-halfpennies, which are far more difficult to identify, the inference must be that they had accidentally escaped notice in exchange. Sometimes, however, the hoard may have been collected far from the ultimate site of its deposit, having been hidden by some traveller or soldier on expedition.

With few of these conditions does the Sheldon hoard conform, for it was buried during the zenith of the struggle between the Empress Matilda and Stephen for the crown, when England was in a state of anarchy and when, as Hoveden and others of our early chroniclers tell us, "all the principal men, both bishops as well as earls and barons, coined their own money." It therefore presents quite unusual features which are of equal historical and numismatic importance. For example, it happened to be deposited during the actual transition from the issue of Stephen's first to that of his second type, when only the reverse dies for the latter, or the irons for making them, had been supplied to the mints which happened to be represented. The result is that the hoard comprises three regal types, namely, the last of Henry I., the first Stephen, and mules composed of coins struck from the obverse dies

¹ *Dialogus de Scaccario.*

of Stephen's first type, combined with the reverse dies of his second type, but no single example from an obverse die of the latter. Of the total of 102 pieces only 70 can be classed as issued by the official moneyers of mints under regal authority, the remaining 32, with the exception of two Scottish pennies, coming directly or indirectly within Hoveden's description of insurgent money as quoted above.

Turning to the question of the mints represented by both regal and insurgent issues, we find that whilst London is fully represented by 26 coins, Winchester only supplies four and Canterbury but two. Of the mints within a radius of a hundred miles, Nottingham is the nearest with 18 pennies, but all save two are of insurgent origin; Stafford, almost as near, is not represented, whilst Chester, which is but a few miles further away, contributes only a single coin. Leicester and Lincoln are at equal distances well within a fifty miles radius, yet whilst the former may claim two insurgent coins only, Lincoln supplies five regal and three insurgent, and York, ten miles further, sends one of each class. Of other mints Norwich furnishes eight, Ipswich, Stamford and Gloucester give three. Carlisle, Colchester, Exeter, and Thetford two each, and no other town shows more than a single coin, but five are illegible.

The inference to be drawn from these figures is either that the hoard was that of a partisan of Matilda's cause, or that it was collected in a town or district where other than the regal currency was in general circulation. About the date of the deposit, London had for a brief period passed under Matilda's rule, though it no longer supported her cause. Nottingham, Lincoln, Carlisle and Gloucester were in the hands of her partisans, York was equally divided in its politics, and Norwich, under the influence of the great Earl Bigod, played an independent part.

DESCRIPTION OF THE COINS.

For convenience of description, I purpose classifying the hoard under six headings, namely, Regal Issues, "Mules," Scottish Coins, Ecclesiastical Issues, Insurgent Money and Coins of the Empress Matilda, in the order named. Where the legends are defective, but can safely be supplied from the readings of other coins, the missing letters will be inserted within brackets.

REGAL ISSUES.

HENRY I., *Hawkins* Fig. 255. Type xv.¹

Obverse.—Crowned bust draped with ornamented mantle, three-quarters to the left; sceptre flory held in the king's right hand over his shoulder to the left; all within a beaded inner circle springing from the shoulders.

Legend.—✠ **HENRICVS** or ✠ **HENRICV** between the inner and an outer circle.

Reverse.—Cross flory, with a pellet in each angle, upon a square of slightly concave sides terminating in fleurs at the corners. All within a beaded inner circle.

Legend.—The name of the moneyer followed by the word **ON** and the name of the mint, variously contracted, between the inner and a beaded outer circle.

This was the last type of King Henry's reign, and current from about Michaelmas, 1131, to his death on December 1st, 1135; but it is not improbable that its issue was continued by Stephen during the first few months of his reign, pending the preparation of his own dies. His first step on his seizure of the crown was to gain possession of Henry's treasury at Winchester, which, according to Malmesbury, contained in coin alone "one hundred thousand pounds, and that of the best quality." This means, that the coined money was of the latest issue, and it explains why the hoards buried during the first few years of Stephen's reign contain so large a percentage of this type. But when the Sheldon hoard was hidden, Stephen had been on the throne for at least six years, and we are told that Henry's treasure had long been spent, hence only three specimens of it, all of London, are here represented, for it was becoming obsolete in circulation.

PENNIES.

1. *Obverse*.—✠ **[DEN]RICV[S]**

Reverse.—✠ **R[O]GIR : ON : [LVN]DEN** London, 22½ grs.
Fig. 19.

2. *Obverse*.—✠ **DE]NRICV**

Reverse.—••••• **ON : LVN** London, 21 grs.

¹ *Henry I.*, pp. 95-99.

3. *Obverse*.—[✠ **HENR**]ICV

Reverse.—[✠ **ORD**]GAR : **ON** : L[**VN**] London, 17 grs.

This moneyer was probably Ordgar le Prude, citizen of London, mentioned in several contemporary charters.

STEPHEN.—*Hawkins* Fig. 270. Type I.

Obverse.—Crowned bust, ornamented with collar of pearls, in profile to right; before, a sceptre flory held in the king's right hand. All within a beaded inner circle, often fragmentary, broken for the bust; but just before the close of this issue the circle was omitted.

Legend.—✠ **STIFNE REX**, ✠ **STIEFNE RE**, ✠ **STIEFNE R** or ✠ **STIEFNE**,¹ issued in the order given; between an inner and an outer beaded circle.

Reverse.—A cross moline the ends of which unite and terminate inwards in fleurs-de-lys with sometimes a small star of four rays or minute square upon the centre of the cross; all within a beaded inner circle.

Legend.—The name of the moneyer followed by the word **ON** and the name of the mint, variously contracted, between an inner and an outer beaded circle.

This was the first type of the reign and its issue would commence in the year 1136, but for how long it was continued is a question to be considered presently when we discuss the coins under the heading "Mules."

PENNIES.

4. *Obverse*.—✠ **STIEFNE R** :

Reverse.—✠ . . **SBER** : **ON** : **CEST** Chester, 22 grs.

This fragment of a moneyer's name is new to me of Chester.

5. *Obverse*.—[✠ **ST**]IEFNE :

Reverse.—✠ **ÆDP**[**A**]RD : **ON** : **COL** Colchester, 21½ grs.

6. *Obverse*.—✠ **STIFNE REX**

Reverse.—[**ÆDP**]ARD : **ON** : **COL** Colchester, 21 grs.

This moneyer is mentioned under Colchester in the Pipe Roll for A.D. 1130.

7. *Obverse*.—✠ **STIEFNE R**

Reverse.—✠ **AILRI**[**C**] : **ON** : **EXCES** : Exeter, 20 grs.

¹ I omit the intermediate varieties and stops.

8. *Obverse*.—✠ **STIEFNE [RE]**
Reverse.—✠ **ALPI]NE : ON : GOLPE** Gloucester, 21 grs.
 The same moneyer also uses **GLOPE** for the contracted name of the mint.
9. *Obverse*.—✠ **STI[FNE REX]**
Reverse.—✠ **PIBERT : ON : G[OPI:]** Gloucester, 21 grs.
 The moneyer Gillebert uses both **GLOP** and **G[OPI]** for this mint's name.
10. *Obverse*.—✠ **STIFNE R]EX**
Reverse.—✠ **[PIBERT : O]N : G[OPI]** Gloucester, 15½ grs. Fig. 23.
11. *Obverse*.—✠ **STIEFNE :**
Reverse.—✠ **RODBERT : ON : h** Hastings, 20½ grs.
12. *Obverse*.—✠ **STIENE REX**
Reverse.—✠ **. RNO : ON : GIP** Ipswich, 21 grs. Fig. 20.
 On the obverse the **F** is inverted (*cf.* No. 30), and above it in the margin of the coin there is the letter **C**, which is, I think, evidence that the penny has been recoined. A coin in the Rashleigh collection reading **. RNO : ON : GIP** also failed to give us the moneyer's full name.
13. *Obverse*.—✠ **ST]IE[FN]E**
Reverse.— - - - - **ON GIP** Ipswich, 21½ grs.
14. *Obverse*.—✠ **STIEFNE :**
Reverse.—**GLADEPIN : ON : NI :**¹ Lincoln, 19¼ grs.
15. *Obverse*.—✠ **STIEFN[E:]**
Reverse.—✠ **[G]LAMPINE O[N NI:]** Lincoln, 20 grs.
 The lettering of this moneyer's name is frequently blundered.
16. *Obverse*.—✠ **ST[IEFNE:]**
Reverse.—✠ **OSLAL : ON[: LINCO:]** Lincoln, 20 grs.
 The usual form of the moneyer's name is **ASLAL**, although here the initial seems to be **O**.
17. *Obverse*.—✠ **STIFNE² REX**
Reverse.—✠ **RAP]VLF : ON : NIC** Lincoln, 21 grs.
 Rawulf also coined here for the Empress Matilda
18. *Obverse*.—✠ **STIEFN[E]**
Reverse.—✠ **. : ON : NIC** Lincoln, 19¼ grs.
19. *Obverse*.—✠ **STIE]FNE R**
Reverse.—✠ **AD]EL[Æ]RD : ON : LVN** London, 22 grs.
20. *Obverse*.—✠ **STI[EFN]E :**
Reverse.—✠ **ADEL[ÆRD:] ON : LVN** London, 21¼ grs.

¹ For an explanation of the change from *Lincoln* to *Nicole* in the name of the city, see *Henry I.*, pp. 267-68.

² The letters are blurred in the striking.

21. *Obverse*.—✠ **STIEFNE R**
Reverse.—✠ **ALFRED : ON : LVN :** London, 21 grs.
22. *Obverse*.—[✠ **STI]EPNE** No inner circle.
Reverse.—✠ **[AL]VRED[: ON : LVN]** London, 12½ grs.
The substitution of the letter **P** for **F** in the king's name identifies this with certain coins of London on which also the inner circle is omitted.
23. *Obverse*.—✠ **STIEFN[E : R]**
Reverse.—✠ **[ALV]RED : ON : [LVND]E** London, 22¾ grs.
24. *Obverse*.—✠ **STIF[NE] REX**
Reverse.—✠ **BALDEPIN : ON : LVN** London, 19 grs.
25. *Obverse*.—[✠ **S]TIFNE REX**
Reverse.—✠ **BALD[P]IN : ON : LVN** London, 22 grs.
26. *Obverse*.—✠ **S[TIEF]NE :**
Reverse.—✠ **[BRIC]MAR : ON : LVN** London, 21 grs.
27. *Obverse*.—✠ **STIEFNE R :**
Reverse.—✠ **DEREMAN : ON : LV** London, 15 grs.
The moneyer Dereman, of London, is frequently mentioned in contemporary charters.¹
28. *Obverse*.—[✠ **ST]IEFNE :**
Reverse.—✠ **DEREM[AN] : ON : LVN** London, 21¼ grs.
29. *Obverse*.—✠ **STIEF[NE :]**
Reverse.—✠ **DER[EM]AN : ON : LVII (sic)** London, 22 grs.
30. *Obverse*.—[✠ **STIE]NER**
Reverse.—[✠ **D]EREMAN : ON[: LV]N** London, 21 grs.
On the obverse the **F** is inverted; cf. No. 12.
31. *Obverse*.—[✠ **STIEFNE**
Reverse.—[✠ **DE]RMAN : ON : [LVN]** London, 21 grs.
32. *Obverse*.—✠ **STIEFNE R**
Reverse.—[✠ **D]ER[MA]N : ON : LV :** London, 21¼ grs.
33. *Obverse*.—✠ **STIEFNE :**
Reverse.—[✠ **DEREMA]N : ON : LV** London, 21 grs.
34. *Obverse*.—✠ **[STIEFN]E :**
Reverse.—[✠ **DEREMA]N : ON : [LV :]** London, 16 grs.
35. *Obverse*.—[✠ **S]TIEFNE R**
Reverse.—✠ **ESTM[VN]D : ON : LV** London, 21 grs.
The letter **ƿ** for **F** in the king's name illustrates careless punching of the die. Estmund is mentioned as a citizen of London in contemporary charters.
36. *Obverse*.—[✠ **S]T[IEFNE R]**
Reverse.—✠ **ESTMVN[D : ON : LV]** London, 20 grs.

¹ *Henry I.*, pp. 280-82.

37. *Obverse.*—✠ **STIE[FNE R]**
Reverse.—✠ **[ESTMV]ND : ON : LVN** London, 20 grs.
38. *Obverse.*—✠ **[ST]IEFN[E :]**
Reverse.—✠ **LIFRED : ON : LVN** London, 22 grs.
39. *Obverse.*—✠ **STIEFNE REX**
Reverse.—✠ **T]OVI : ON : LV[ND]** London, 22 grs.
40. *Obverse.*—✠ **STIEFNE R[EX]**
Reverse.—✠ **TOV]I : ON : [LVND]** London, 19½ grs.
41. *Obverse.*—✠ **STIEF[N]E RE**
Reverse.—✠ **A[ILPI]N : O[N :] NO[R]** Norwich, 21½ grs.
Double-struck.
42. *Obverse.*—✠ **STI[EFNE]**
Reverse.—✠ **AL]FRIC : O[N : NOR]** Norwich, 19 grs.
43. *Obverse.*—✠ **STI[EFNE]**
Reverse.—✠ **A]LFR[IC : ON : NOR]** Norwich, 15¼ grs.
44. *Obverse.*—✠ **[STIE]FNE R :**
Reverse.—✠ **ÆDSTAN : O[N : NOR]** Norwich, 21 grs.
45. *Obverse.*—✠ **STIEFNE :**
Reverse.—✠ **ETST[AN : O]N : NO** Norwich, 19 grs.
46. *Obverse.*—✠ **STIF]NE REX**
Reverse.—✠ **O[TERL]HE : ON : N]ORPI** Norwich, 21 grs.
47. *Obverse.*—✠ **STIEFNE :**
Reverse.—✠ **REIN]ALD : ON : N[OR]** Norwich, 21 grs.
48. *Obverse.*—✠ **S[TIE]FNE : R**
Reverse.— **O : ON : NORP[IC]** Norwich, 15½ grs.
I cannot identify the moneyer with any such name at Norwich.
49. *Obverse.*—✠ **STIEFNE RE :**
Reverse.—✠ **GAHAN : ON [: OXEN]** Oxford, 22 grs.
50. *Obverse.*—✠ **ST[IEF]NE RE :**
Reverse.—✠ **GILEBER[T :] ON : ED :** St. Edmundsbury, 21 grs.
51. *Obverse.*—✠ **STIEFNE :**
Reverse.—✠ **R[I]LARD : ON : SAF :** Shaftesbury, 20 grs.
52. *Obverse.*—✠ **STI[EF]NE RE :**
Reverse.—✠ **LEFSI : ON : STANF :** Stamford, 17 grs.
53. *Obverse.*—✠ **STIE[FNE RE :]**
Reverse.—✠ **LEFSI [: ON : S]TAN** Stamford, 18 grs.
54. *Obverse.*—✠ **S[TIFN]E REX**
Reverse.—✠ **GHEPA . . : ON : SVD :** Southwark, 21¾ grs.
A coin reading ✠ **GHEP VD** in the Rashleigh collection similarly failed to give us the moneyer's full name, but it was probably Gheward.

55. *Obverse*.—[✠ STIFNE RE]X :
Reverse.—[✠ AL]FRE[D : ON : TA]MP[OR] Tamworth, 21 grs.
56. *Obverse*.—✠ STIFNE REX
Reverse.—✠ ODE : ON : TET : FORT Thetford, 22 grs.
57. *Obverse*.—[✠ S]TIEFNE RE :
Reverse.—[✠ PI]LLE[M :] ON [:P]ILT Wilton, 21 grs.
58. *Obverse*.—✠ STIFNE REX
Reverse.—[✠ L]BIPPIG : ON : PINCE Winchester, 19 grs.
59. *Obverse*.—✠ [STIEFNE]
Reverse.—✠ LBE[PPIG : ON : PINCE Winchester, 21 grs.
60. *Obverse*.—[✠ S]TIEFNE :
Reverse.—✠ [ROGI]R : ON : PIN[LE] Winchester, 20 grs.
61. *Obverse*.—[✠ S]TIFN[E REX]
Reverse.—✠ ST[IEFNE : ON : PIN]E Winchester, 20 grs.
62. *Obverse*.—✠ STIEFNE R :
Reverse.—✠ AVTGRIM : ON : EVER : York, 22½ grs.
63. *Obverse*.—✠ S
Reverse.—[✠ P]ILL[EM :]O[N :] Uncertain, 19 grs.
 No inner circle on the obverse.
64. *Obverse*.—
Reverse.—[✠ P]ILLEM [:ON :] Uncertain, 19 grs. Fig. 22.
 This coin is illustrated as an instance of careless striking.
65. *Obverse*.—[✠ ST]I[EFNE]
Reverse.—[✠ .]VSF Uncertain, 12½ grs.
66. *Obverse and Reverse* illegible. 19¾ grs.

CUT HALFPENNIES.

67. *Obverse*.— —STIEF———
Reverse.— —O E——— Uncertain, 9 grs.
 The moneyer's name is probably Godwine.
68. *Obverse*.— —✠ ST[IEF]N———
Reverse.— ———I : — London? 9¼ grs.
 Probably similar in legend to No. 40.

MULES.

- Obverse*.—*Hawkins* Fig. 270, Stephen's 1st type; as before but without the usual inner circle which had become obsolete in the last phase of the type.
- Reverse*.—*Hawkins* Fig. 269, Stephen's 2nd type. Cross-voided pommée, three pellets opposite each arm and a mullet pierced within each angle; all within a beaded inner circle. Legend as upon

Stephen's first type, *Hawkins* 270, between an inner and an outer beaded circle.

A "mule" as its name implies is an irregular combination of types, namely, the obverse of one with the reverse of another. In numismatics "mules" appear in all periods, but during the later Anglo-Saxon and the Norman eras they link so many types together that although they are individually of exceptional rarity they, as a class, have become a distinct factor in determining the sequence of the types in their chronological order, for with very few exceptions they always link successive issues. It follows that varied theories have been offered to explain what was seemingly an eccentricity of the moneyers, but none of them has, I think, been in accord with the evidence we have now before us.

For the first time a hoard has brought direct evidence to bear upon this subject, and it is entirely due to the accidental circumstance that it happened to be deposited during the transition from Stephen's first to his second type. This is quite clear because, although there are a penny and a halfpenny, each struck from an obverse die of his first type coupled with a reverse die of his second type, there is no single example of the complete second type present in the hoard: and it was for the purpose of laying stress on this fact that, in my opening paragraphs, I was careful to show that the hoard is as it was found, lest it should be thought possible that the specimens of the second type might have been abstracted from it. If, however, there had been any such selection as that, we may feel satisfied that the exceptionally rare and, in some cases, unpublished types I shall presently describe, would have been preferred to the coins of a type which is at least plentiful when compared with them.

The original owner of the treasure had accumulated 68 coins of Stephen's first issue and two "mules" connecting the first and second issues, but no regular example of the latter. The obvious inference must be that although "mules" were then in circulation within his provenance the complete coin of the second issue was either not there at all, or was not so general in exchange as were the "mules."

The evidence thus accidentally given us is conclusive to prove the

fact that "mules" were issued during the transition from one type to another. Why was this? Types were changed in early times, not for the amelioration of the money but for fiscal reasons. There were at least fifty mints in England, and upon the proclamation of a new monetary issue, fees for the new dies had to be paid by every moneyer working at them, and the number may be safely estimated as exceeding 200. The proclamation stopped the issue of the old type, and provided that the moneyers must use only the new dies in future and surrender their old dies in exchange for them.

Any student of numismatics glancing, for instance, at a series of the last coinage of William I. from the Beaworth hoard, will be struck with the remarkable identity of the workmanship of the dies, notwithstanding that the coins were issued from mints spread throughout the country. We must therefore assume that with one or two exceptions, such as perhaps York, Rhuddlan, etc., the dies had a common origin, and that was, no doubt, the cuneator's office at London.

But as the system of farming the mints with the boroughs to the local authorities grew, this seems no longer to have been the general custom. It is quite easy to recognise some of the mints of Stephen's reign from the obverse alone of the coin; and to prove this I have only to call attention to the three Nottingham dies represented by the coins illustrated in this paper as Figs. 1 and 3, and Mr. Carlyon-Britton's coin illustrated on page 66, to prove that whilst they distinctly resemble one another, they are unlike any used at other mints. They must therefore have had a local origin, and the same may be said of other dies at various mints throughout the land.

I think, therefore, that whilst the king's cuneator continued to supply actual dies to all those mints which remained under the direct fiscal management of the Crown officials, such as the royal mints of London, Winchester, etc., he supplied only the iron punches for making the dies to the mints which had been handed over to the local authorities and farmed with their boroughs. As, however, the irons really made up the die in its component parts, I shall for the purposes of this paper generally, treat them in future as if they were the actual dies.

Whilst on this head, I would like to direct attention to the admirable exposition of the methods of mediæval die-sinking in Mr. Shirley Fox's paper on "Die-making in the Twelfth Century,"¹ because I shall have repeatedly to draw a distinction between regal dies, or dies punched from regal irons as there explained, and the home-made die, the result of local necessity.

When the money was changed it followed that to supply the necessary dies for the royal mints and the numerous irons for punching the local dies, would be a severe task for the office of the king's cuneator, and a task which would require some months of tedious work for its completion. It also followed that some mints would receive their dies an appreciable time before others for, apart from probably various other reasons, there were always the difficulties of transit. The delivery of the dies or the irons for their manufacture to a moneyer was, of course, evidence that he had paid his fees and surrendered his old dies. In other words, the new dies were his receipt.

The position then was :—the crown was waiting for the fees, the moneyers were waiting for the dies, and the public was waiting for the money. The natural expedient presented itself, namely, to save half the delay by delivering a single die to each moneyer with a permit to use it in conjunction with one of his old dies until the new pair was completed. He would pay his fees, receive one die, and the interim use of the die would satisfy the fiscal authorities that he had paid them.

Mr. Carlyon-Britton was the first to call attention to the fact that of "mule" coins with very few exceptions, the reverse die is always that for the new issue. This fact practically proves the truth of the above simple explanation. Suppose, for example, the obverse die had been delivered to a moneyer who alone had paid his fees, where perhaps six worked at the same mint. The obverse was the standard or lower die of the pair, so he could have set it in the anvil and all his colleagues could have struck their old reverse or trussel dies upon it without paying a farthing, and yet their money would be similar to his and

¹ *British Numismatic Journal*, vol. vi, p. 191 *et seq.*

equally pass the fiscal authorities. But the reverse die bore the owner's name upon it, and naturally, when fraud meant death, it was a possession jealously guarded by its owner; so in the case just suggested, the delivery to the moneyer of a reverse die, in exchange for his fees, acted as a personal receipt to him; for the money struck by it—with whatever obverse—bore his name only, and the die was therefore useless to his colleagues. In other words an obverse die, being the same used throughout the country, bore no identity and would serve the purpose of any moneyer; but the reverse die could only be used by its owner, for every reverse die differed in its inscription.

If we accept the proposition—and I do not think that anyone will hesitate to do so—that the hoard was buried at the actual moment of the transition from Stephen's first to his second type, it is equally certain that every coin contained in it was struck prior to the complete issue of that second type. Conversely, we may almost assume that types, which from the geographical position of their mints would be expected to be at least represented in this North Derbyshire hoard had they been then current, such as the curious type, *Hawkins* Fig. 277 struck at Derby, or the whole series of the "ornament" coinage at York, *Hawkins* 271, 280–283, etc., were not as yet in existence. Again, if we can ascertain the year of the transition of the two types we not only learn the date of the deposit of the hoard but approximately that of every type it yields. The latter proposition, however, I will discuss when I describe each in turn, treating now only the question of the date of the transition.

When Stephen ascended the throne the money then being issued, namely, Henry's fifteenth and last type, had run for a period of rather more than four years, and but for his death would probably have been continued until the completion of the fifth year. Hence five years, although longer than the average period prior to that time, would not then have been considered an excessive length of issue. As a matter of fact, a change in the money was a hardship upon both the moneyers and the public, for it put the former to the cost of their dies, and it rendered the coin of the latter one of three steps nearer to being no

longer legal tender, for we have seen that the three last issued types only were usually the limit of currency; and when money became obsolete it cost the holder sixteen pence halfpenny in the pound to have it recoined. Frequent changes in the money were therefore unpopular, and as popularity was everything to Stephen—indeed, it was his mainstay on the throne—it would not be likely that he would change his first type during at least the first five years of his reign. As a matter of fact, Stephen was the last of our kings to make use of this system as a method of extortion, for Henry II. only changed the money once during his long reign, and after his day it became almost standardised.

So long as Henry's vast treasure held out we may be sure that Stephen renewed not the money. The type itself, too, bears evidence of long issue, for it passed through at least four successive changes in minor details. It was closely imitated by the Empress Matilda so that her money would pass current, unnoticed by the merchants, as Stephen's; and as some of her money was coined at London, which she only held in June, 1141, we know that the King's first type was still current then. It was still the "present money" at the date of the deposit of the Nottingham hoard, which, as I have elsewhere¹ demonstrated, was in September of that year. We have therefore evidence that there was no change during the first six years of the reign, namely, from December, 1135, to the autumn at least of 1141, but if the preparation of Stephen's first dies was not completed until Michaelmas 1136, as was probably the case, the type thus ran for the complete period of five years, the length of time we should expect.

There is, however, a far more convincing reason why the first type must have run its course during the year 1141. At the battle of Lincoln, February the 2nd, 1141, Stephen's power was overthrown, he himself thrown into captivity, and the Empress Matilda accepted as "Lady of the English" awaiting her coronation. She was welcomed at Winchester, Wilton, Reading, London and Oxford, and the Archbishop of Canterbury joined her cause. Bristol, Gloucester,

¹ *Henry I.*, pp. 347-349; *British Numismatic Journal*, vol. i, pp. 30-32.

Hereford, Lincoln, Nottingham, and many other mints were in the hands of her partisans, whilst the whole of the west of England acknowledged her as queen. As mint after mint, including the great mints of London, Winchester and Canterbury, fell into her hands, Stephen's dies would be immediately destroyed; and even at places where her influence was not felt they would follow the same fate, for inured as men were to the ruthless cruelty of the age, there would be none in the whole of England—save perhaps his brother, the diplomatic Bishop of Winchester and other heads of the Church whose influence was exerted on Stephen's behalf—who ever expected to hear of the deposed King as even living, to say nothing of his return to power.

Hence, when the Rout of Winchester astonished the land, and paved the way for the exchange and restoration of Stephen to power over the greater part of England in November, 1141, he recovered at least half the mints but practically no dies.

In any case new dies had to be supplied, the old type had run its full course, and with the new regime naturally came a new coinage. From all these reasons, therefore, we are justified in asserting that Stephen's second type must have been proclaimed very soon after his restoration, probably at the second coronation, or "crown wearing" at Canterbury during the feast of Christmas, 1141-2. The staff of the cuneator's office would be disorganised, and to prepare for the new coinage, the complete series of dies or the irons for their preparation, when every die had to be laboriously sunk by hand, would fully occupy the first half, or at least the first few months, of the year 1142.

But at the actual date of the deposit of the Sheldon hoard, complete dies for both the obverse and reverse of the second type must have been in use at some of the mints, probably at London and Winchester, because, as we shall presently see, the hoard contained certain coins of the Empress Matilda imitated from money then in circulation representing both dies of the type.

About Easter, 1142, William Peverel recovered Nottingham for the King and drove out the adherents of the Empress, but of this, more anon. Stephen and his Queen about the same time passed northward to York, and on their return the former was stricken with illness at

Northampton, where he remained until his recovery. These events, happening in the immediate vicinity at the actual date of the deposit of the hoard, probably led to its hiding, for in those days, when a district was over-run by the mercenaries of contesting parties, Mother Earth was the safest protection against the extortions of the marauding freebooter.

I therefore deduce the actual date of the deposit of the Sheldon hoard to be April or May, 1142, at which date money bearing both the obverse and reverse types of Stephen's second coinage, *Hawkins* 269, would have been in circulation for some months in the districts around London, but the obverse dies would not yet have found their way to the more distant mints, whilst the new money of the south would not have had time to circulate into the district where the treasure was collected.

MULED PENNY.

69. *Obverse*.—✠ **[STIE]FIIE** : of Stephen's first type, *Hawkins* 270, without the inner circle.
Reverse.—✠ **VILAM : ON** of Stephen's second type, *Hawkins* 269. Canterbury, 16 grs. Fig. 32.

CUT-HALFPENNY.

70. *Obverse*.—**TIEFII**——Similar to No. 69 and probably from the same die.
Reverse.—✠——. . ○ . . . Similar to No. 69 but from a different die. Canterbury, 8 grs. Fig. 33.

Prior to the advent of these two coins no mule connecting the two types has ever been recorded, but in the Linton hoard, deposited perhaps a year or so later than the subject of our consideration, there was a cut-halfpenny, now in Mr. Roth's collection, which is identical with the above examples, but it is practically illegible so far as its lettering is concerned.

Although owing to faulty striking the impressions on the obverses of these two coins scarcely overlap, there is just sufficient duplication to suggest the same die; and when we notice that the die-sinker has

omitted the connecting bar of the **N** in Stephen's name on both, the fact is, I think, assured. The form **VILAM** represents a moneyer's name William, and although a search through my notes has not supplied the exact parallel, the spellings **VILEM** or **VILELM** and **WLLAO** appear on contemporary coins ; so it is but a combination of the two. The same unbarred **N** occurs at Southwark and Canterbury, but although in the former instance the inner circle is also absent, the collar similarly protrudes far beyond the chin, and the work generally suggests the same hand, the die is not the same, nor do I know a moneyer of the name William of Southwark at this time. The Canterbury coin, however, although having only a note of it, I cannot compare the dies, bears the same legend on the obverse, omits the inner circle, and reads on the reverse **✠ WILLEM : ON : LANT**. I therefore think that in all probability these two coins were issued from that mint, especially as Stephen had held his court there at the preceding Christmas. This is the more probable because Mr. Roth's specimen was found within that district, and is so closely similar to No. 69 that it is very probably from the same dies.

The legend on the obverse of these muled coins, and the absence of the inner circle confirm my remark to the Society a year or more ago, that this form was the last of a series of evolutions through which Stephen's first type passed. It must, however, be remembered that all the regal dies of the first type must have been issued prior to Stephen's fall from power at the Battle of Lincoln on February 2nd, 1141—a year before the deposit of the Sheldon hoard—although they would be continued in use for the subsequent money coined in 1141.

SCOTTISH COINS.

With few exceptions every recorded discovery of Stephen's coins has yielded a percentage of contemporary Scottish money. Unfortunately, many of the pieces have not been recognised as such, but have been erroneously classed under the misleading term "Baronial Coinage." Stephen's contemporary, David I. of Scotland, was brother-in-law to Henry I., had been brought up at the English court, had

married an English heiress, was an English earl and was imbued with English associations. When he succeeded to his throne the coinage of Scotland was in a deplorable condition, and as the trade of the country was chiefly conducted in the English markets, he reformed the money upon English models, and thus, about the time of Stephen's accession, commenced an issue from his mints in southern Scotland, intended to circulate across the Border, and therefore, save for its inscriptions, as nearly as possible identical with Stephen's type.

That it did so circulate, and was even accepted as legal tender in this country, we know from the following passage in the *Dialogus de Scaccario*, attributed to the Bishop of Ely, circa 1180.

"And take note that certain counties from the time of King Henry I. and in the time of King Henry II. could lawfully offer for payment coins of any kind of money provided they were of silver and did not differ from the lawful weight ; because, indeed, by ancient custom, not themselves having moneyers, they sought their coins from on all sides ; such are Northumberland and Cumberland."

PENNIES OF DAVID I. OF SCOTLAND.

71. *Obverse*.—✠ **DAVID : RE :** A copy of Stephen's first type, *Hawkins* 270.

Reverse.—Legend uncertain. A copy of Stephen's first type, *Hawkins* 270. 21 grs. Fig. 26.

72. *Obverse*.—Legend uncertain. A copy of Stephen's first type, *Hawkins* 270, the design being principally worked in strings of pellets.

Reverse.—✠ **RO TRADA** Cross with pellet in each angle and three pellets opposite each limb ; all within a beaded circle. Legend between an inner and an outer circle. Strathaven? 15½ grs. Fig. 25.

The reverse legend of the latter coin is new, and I incline to the view that as the space for the moneyer's name is too short for Robert, and there are faint traces of what must be the letter **S** before the **T** it should probably be extended to ✠ **ROGER : ON : STRADA**. No such reading for a mint is known, but remembering that the **D** was still used in the north for **Ð = TH**, Strathaven would seem to be the town represented.

ECCLESIASTICAL ISSUES.

PENNIES.

THE BISHOP OF DURHAM. Variety of Stephen's first type, *Hawkins 270.*

73. *Obverse.*—✠ **STIEFNE P** to which letter is appended an ornament in the form of a leaf.

Reverse.—✠ **R=CARDVS DVN** Durham, 15 grs. Fig. 18.

The mint of Durham was solely the prerogative of the Prince-Bishops of the Palatinate, and therefore every coin of the mint at this period was issued by them.

During the Anglo-Saxon era it had been the general custom for Archbishops, Bishops and Abbots to distinguish their coinage from the regal issues by the addition of symbols representing the insignia of their office, usually the cross, crozier or ring. This custom had almost fallen into disuse after the Norman Conquest, but in the troublous times of Stephen, when anarchy spread over the land, it was naturally revived, for the country was suffering from a general output of light money issued by more or less irresponsible personages, and the mark, or fiat, of the Archbishop of York, the Bishops of Durham or Lincoln, and the Abbots of Peterborough or St. Edmundsbury, would be a welcomed certificate for the purity of the money bearing it. Also, at a time when men knew not who was the King and who the Pretender, the currency of their ecclesiastical authority was perhaps a safer medium of exchange than that of the power of the moment.

The Nottingham hoard, which was deposited six months earlier than the coins we are considering, namely, in September, 1141, contained several examples of the money of the Bishop of Durham, and they were distinguished by a profusion of annulets worked into the reverse design.

The then history of Durham is rather involved so far as dates are concerned, but it would appear that on the death of Bishop Geoffrey in May, 1140, William Cumin, the Scottish Chancellor, with the support

of his King, conspired with certain of the Chapter and obtained possession of the Castle of Durham; then, by methods of persuasion and coercion combined, he induced at least a ceremony of election in his favour as Bishop of Durham, and assumed the privileges of the office, including the temporalities. But his appointment was informal, for it had received neither the countenance of the King nor of the Legate, Henry, Bishop of Winchester, Stephen's brother. No doubt the raid, for it really amounted to that, was planned by King David in the interests of his niece, the Empress Matilda, to annex the powerful military forces of the Prince Bishop of Durham to her cause. When, therefore, in the following year Matilda for a brief space held the reins of government and the real or feigned support of the Legate, William Cumin accompanied King David on his journey south to her court at London, trusting to obtain their joint confirmation of his election and, as the continuator of Symeon's *History of the See of Durham* tells us, to receive "the staff and ring" of his office "upon the day of St. John the Baptist," namely, the 24th of June, 1141, and "indeed they would have been given him had it not been that a dispute arose with the Londoners, which caused the Empress to depart from London upon that very day with all her followers." At the Rout of Winchester both David and William Cumin escaped and returned separately to Durham, where William, as the Bishop *de facto*, continued during a stormy period of about three years to retain the privileges of office.

I have no hesitation in assigning the coins of Durham found at Nottingham, bearing the annulet-symbol, to William Cumin. The workmanship and lettering are Scottish and they bear the name of a Scottish moneyer.

The coin before us, however, Fig. 18, was undoubtedly his, as I hope to prove in a very unusual manner. The obverse die is, I think, punched with English irons by English cuneators and so, with one exception, to be presently explained, it is regal and regular in both design and workmanship, but the reverse die is essentially Scottish in character. Instead of following the English custom of the names of moneyer and mint being given in English, connected by the Saxon word **ON**, the Latin form is adopted and the legend is therefore

✠ **RICARDVS DVN**elmi. Taking the inscription in detail :—the initial cross is defective in that the upper arm is wanting ; similarly, the **R** is disconnected at the top, the **I** is replaced by two punch marks, because probably it was not clear on the copy from which the illiterate die-sinker was working—and nine-tenths of the community were then illiterate ; the **C** is the round letter customary on Scottish coins, and finally, the **N** is half-way between an **N** and an **M**, for on the Scottish money the same letter was used impartially for either. The moneyer, Richard himself, was no doubt David's moneyer of Carlisle, which town was then in that King's hands and the most prolific of his mints. David would lend him to William Cumin to conduct the coinage at Durham.

The obverse of the coin offers a most interesting feature. At first glance it appears to read ✠ **STIEFNE R**, the form of legend in vogue about 1139-40 on Stephen's first type, and therefore in issue at the time of Cumin's seizure of Durham, and for which it was intended to pass current. But instead of a final **R**, for *rex*, a careful examination of the illustration will disclose that what should have been the lower limb is replaced by a leaf, and so the continuation becomes a rebus composed of the letter **P** with a leaf springing from it. The letter **P**, of course, was then the usual letter for our W, being the old Saxon *Wen*, and although in Stephen's time the English W had made its appearance on a proportion of the coins, the Saxon **P** still in the main represented our W.

The monogram is therefore W followed by a leaf, and I here reproduce it, enlarged to three and a half diameters.



THE REBUS OF WILLIAM CUMIN, BISHOP OF DURHAM.

It will be seen that the leaf is of the umbelliferous order, and we may take it that it is intended to represent the herb cumnii, or cumin, (Anglo-Saxon *Cumin*, Latin *Cuminum*). So here we have the actual

VOL. VII.

E

rebus of the Bishop's name—"W. Cumin." A rebus was a popular device in mediæval times, especially with ecclesiastics, though I do not remember anything of the kind so early as this in numismatics. But no doubt the words of Isaiah ran in the Bishop's mind: "Doth the plowman plow all day to sow? doth he open and break the clods of his ground? When he hath made plain the face thereof, doth he not cast abroad the fitches and scatter the *cummin*?"¹

It is a safe axiom, not only in the study of our coinage but in that of general archæology, that nothing stands alone. Having found the rebus of William Cumin on an English coin as Bishop of Durham, I naturally looked for its parallel on a Scottish coin, issued by William Cumin as King David's Chancellor, and here it is:—



PENNY OF DAVID I. OF SCOTLAND BEARING THE REBUS OF HIS CHANCELLOR, WILLIAM CUMIN, IN PLACE OF THE SCEPTRE. NOT FOUND AT SHELDON.

This coin, now in Mr. Carlyon-Britton's collection, was illustrated in *Numismatic Chronicle*, vol. xiii. p. 181, as Fig. 6 of a plate on which the majority of the coins depicted were from the Dartford hoard. This has led to the erroneous belief that it came from that find. It will be noticed that on the obverse the sceptre is replaced by a sprig of what is, I think, undoubtedly intended to represent cummin. Thus, in the one case, we have a leaf and in the other the plant. The coin reads on the obverse **D : AO[VI]D[R]**, retrograde, and divided after **D :** by the bust; and on the reverse *** EREN [BALD : ON :] CAR**=Carlisle, but the **R** of the moneyer's name is open at the top, as on the Durham coin, which gives it the appearance of an **N**. On both obverse and reverse the coin is ornamented by a profusion of annulets, which stamps it as

¹ Isaiah xxviii, 24-25.

having been issued by an ecclesiastic, no doubt William Cumin, as Chancellor. It closely parallels the penny of Henry the Legate, Bishop of Winchester, *Hawkins* 279, for whilst both coins bear the King's bust crowned, the sceptre is replaced on one by the crozier as the symbol of the Bishop, on the other by a rebus of the Chancellor's name.

The moneyer's name was Erembald, for, as I have already remarked, the forms **N** and **M** were used for either letter on Scottish coins, and also occasionally on English money; for example, a coin of the Empress Matilda reads **IMPER** for **IMPER**atricis.

A few years before the date of the issue of this coin silver mines had been discovered near Carlisle, extending into the territory of the See of Durham. They no doubt supplied both mints with silver, and they were certainly farmed to the moneyers of Carlisle, for in 1157-58 William Fitz-Erembald, the moneyer, paid a rent of 100 marks of silver for them. His father, Erembald, was, of course, the moneyer before us, and we have also coins of Carlisle struck by William himself.¹

THE BISHOP OF EXETER.

Variety of Stephen's first type.

74. *Obverse*.—**S[TIEF]NE R** :: retrograde. Crowned and bearded bust to right holding sceptre in front; all within an inner beaded circle broken for the bust and crown. Of Stephen's first type, *Hawkins* 270, but more closely resembling the variety presently described as No. 75. Legend between an inner and an outer beaded circle.

Reverse.—**[G]ODV INVS O O EX LE[L]I**.

A square with slightly concave sides terminating in fleurs-de-lys at the corners, within a beaded inner circle, upon a long engrailed cross extending to the outer circle and separating the legend into four sections. Unpublished in any work of reference. Exeter, 16 grs. Fig. 29.

¹ See *Henry I.*, pp. 140-43.

One of our earliest mediæval rhymes tells us in the words of the King :—

“Lay down thy cross and staff,
Thy myter and thy ring I to thee gaff.”

This refers to the insignia of office of an archbishop, and with the exception of the mitre, which however I hope yet to find, all these symbols appear on varieties of the first type of Stephen, and invariably mark the ecclesiastical origin of the coins that bear them. The most usual is the ring, or annulet, but the “staff,” or crozier, takes the place of the sceptre on the coins of Henry the Bishop. As I ventured to demonstrate to the Society in July, 1908, there is a class of coins, varieties of this type, on which the actual arms of the cross moline are replaced by an engrailed or sometimes a voided cross extending to the edges of the coins, and they are probably ecclesiastical. There are several sub-varieties of this class and the coin before us, No. 73, is a rare example.

Hitherto its type has not been recorded, but nevertheless it has its fellow in the Hunterian collection at Glasgow University. Unfortunately the latter specimen is in poor condition and of uncertain mint, although I had already ventured to attribute it to Exeter. Its obverse legend is **ST**, similarly without the usual initial cross, but it is not retrograde. The reverse, however, only discloses part of a moneyer’s name, **LINR**, which I am unable to recognize.

It will be noticed that the obverse legend of the Sheldon coin ends with a rosette, and I may mention that the same ornament occurs in that position on another Exeter coin of the ordinary type of Stephen’s first coinage. This is important as helping to determine the mint, for whilst the name of the moneyer is quite clear, the **X** might possibly be a **V** and the **LE** mistaken for **ER**, which would transfer the coin to York. The same ornament also occurs on an irregular coin of Gloucester and on another, of Stephen’s first type, at Cricklade, which points to a West Country significance. It must have a meaning, for it was Charles I.’s mint-mark on his coinage at Exeter.

The curious return to **mo**, for **mo** the *monetarius* of the early

Saxon period, in place of the usual **ON**, is interesting, as it suggests that the dies were of local origin and not supplied by the official cuneators. This is explained by the conditions of Exeter at the date when the coin was issued.

With the exception of York, there is no mint which has supplied us with so many varieties of the coins of this reign as that of Exeter, nor is there any class so badly struck and consequently so difficult to decipher as that of the money issued from it.

In 1138 Robert had been appointed Bishop of Exeter by Stephen at the Northampton Court, and no doubt his position during the troublous times that followed was exceedingly difficult and delicate, for his see was in the heart of Matilda's country. When we remember that two years previously Exeter had been in rebellion, we may be quite sure that Stephen selected for its Bishop one on whom he could rely. Nevertheless I am inclined to think that whilst Bishop Robert was not prepared to issue money in the name of the Empress, he was quite willing to differentiate his money from that of Stephen by issuing a type of his own, and to commit himself only to a semblance of Stephen's name and title upon it. It may be, however, that these irregular coins were struck during Stephen's captivity, when no man knew who would next ascend the throne of England or, as Dr. Byrom in the eighteenth century tersely expressed it in his day, "Who that Pretender is, and who the King, God bless us all, is quite another thing."

THE BISHOP OF LINCOLN.

Variety of Stephen's first type, but *Hawkins*, "type," 630.

75. *Obverse*.—✠ **STEPHAN[V]S R** Crowned bust and sceptre to right with bearded portrait, very similar in character to that on No. 74, but the legend is not retrograde, the inner beaded circle is more complete and no outer circle is visible.

Reverse.—[✠] **GLADEVIN[E : ON : NI]COL** Cross with its terminations crescented; a large pellet opposite each limb and in the centre; in each angle a fleur-de-lys surmounted by a smaller pellet; all within a beaded inner circle; no outer circle visible. Lincoln, 22 grs. Fig. 30.

Stephen was a diplomatist and perhaps his one departure from that trait was the arrest, in 1139, of Roger, King Henry's Chancellor and Bishop of Salisbury, with his nephew, Alexander Bishop of Lincoln, for suspected conspiracy with Earl Robert of Gloucester. Another nephew, Nigel Bishop of Ely, was implicated and escaped, but Roger died under the humiliation, and Alexander was forced to deliver the two castles he had built at Newark and Sleaford.

These three ecclesiastics were reputed to be the most powerful and wealthy in the land, and by this drastic step Stephen not only alienated the support of the Church from his cause, but set up in Alexander "The Magnificent," as he was termed, an enemy to his own undoing. I think that very probably it was due to the machinations of the Bishop of Lincoln that Ranulf of Chester and his brother were admitted into Lincoln Castle, with the result that the Battle of Lincoln followed, and Stephen met his fall.

Alexander received a charter to coin with one moneyer at his castle of Newark, and I have already¹ been able to identify the money issued by him from that mint. On it the arms of the usual cross moline of Stephen's first type were replaced by an engrailed cross extending to the outer edge of the coin and terminating in fleurs-de-lys.

The Dartford hoard, discovered in 1826, which, except for the absence of the later coins, bore so close a similarity to this that it must have been deposited practically at the same time, though probably at the preceding Christmas, contained three examples of the type we are discussing, and I have notes of three other specimens. *Hawkins* classifies it as type VIII of Stephen, Fig. 630, but, subject to further consideration when I treat it in my Numismatic History of the reign, I am disposed to attribute all the examples of the type to the dies of the Bishop of Lincoln. In any case if they are not all of the Lincoln mint, the exceptions are from ecclesiastical dies of a Bishop or Abbot who adopted Alexander's design.

That the type is merely an ecclesiastical variant of Stephen's first type is clear. The obverse is an imitation of it with the legend

¹ At the July Meeting of the British Numismatic Society, 1908.

improved, as we should expect, into purer Latin, namely, **STEPHANVS** **REX**. Nevertheless the die is of local construction, for not only is it coarser in workmanship than those of the official cuneators, but the old Saxon **H** is revived, although it had been discarded on our regal money since about the year 1105. The design of the reverse however is essentially ecclesiastical; the cross is introduced in plainer form, and upon and around it are five pellets representing the Five Wounds of Christ, whilst the lily, the symbol of the Trinity and of St. Mary, is present in the fleurs-de-lys in the angles. The moneyer, Gladwine, certainly coined at the Bishop of Lincoln's mint, for sometimes his coins are distinguished by the usual annulet or ring, and sometimes by a similar cross upon the sceptre to that which will be described under the next coin, No. 76.

THE ABBOT OF PETERBOROUGH.

Variety of Stephen's first type, *Hawkins*, 270.

76. *Obverse*.—✠ **UTIEFNE : R** As Stephen's first type, save that the initial cross is a rude quatrefoil, and a bar or wedge has been cut in the die across the shaft of the sceptre.

Reverse.—✠ **LEFSI : ON : S[T]AN** As Stephen's first type, but with the addition of a pellet in the centre of each arm of the cross and of the cross itself. Stamford, 15½ grs. Fig. 28.

By several early charters and particularly by that of King Edgar, in 963, the Abbots of Peterborough had received the right to "one moneyer in Stamford," and the privilege was still maintained in the days of Stephen.

Examples of this variety, No. 76, occurred both in the Dartford and Nottingham hoards, and are interesting in the evidence they give that, so far as the obverse die is concerned, the addition of the cross-bar on the shaft of the sceptre was made after the die had been in use. This is proved by a comparison of two coins in the collection of Mr. Wells. Both are from the same dies, yet on one, the first issued, the cross-bar is absent. The bar converts the shaft of the sceptre into

a cross, and the five¹ pellets on the reverse cross conform with those already described under the Bishop of Lincoln's coin, No. 75. The variety is classed as type IV by *Hawkins*, but it is merely an example of Stephen's first type franked by the Abbot of Peterborough.

THE ARCHBISHOP OF YORK.

Variety of Stephen's first type, *Hawkins* 270.

77. *Obverse*.—**✠ STIEFNE :** As Stephen's first type, but the left leaf of the fleur-de-lys, by which the sceptre is surmounted, is converted into a small annulet.

Reverse.—**[✠] VLF : ON : EV[ERPIC :]** As Stephen's first type. York, 20½ grs. Fig. 27.

From the earliest times the annulet appears on coinage issuing from York, and stamps the money which bears it as being the product of the Archbishop's mint. No doubt it was especially applicable to the Church of St. Peter as representing his ring.

On the death of Archbishop Thurstan, in February, 1140, Stephen and his brother Henry the Legate favoured the claims of their nephew William the Treasurer of York, and he was appointed Archbishop at the camp immediately before the Battle of Lincoln, February 2nd, 1141. His election, however, was disputed, and much the same conditions arose at York as I have described under Durham, the only difference being that whereas William Cumin was the nominee of the Empress Matilda's party, William the Treasurer was that of King Stephen.

With the installation of Archbishop William was to commence a distinctive ecclesiastical coinage at York, even more varied than that at Lincoln, but at the date of the deposit of the Sheldon hoard, April or May, 1142, it was not yet in general circulation, or I think it would have been represented.

On the coin before us, No. 77, the legend and details of design were those in vogue from 1140 to 1141, and we may therefore attribute it to Archbishop William, for I am not aware of any other York coin of

¹ Our illustration does not show the pellet in the centre of the cross, but I think that it is present on the coin.

the first type of Stephen's reign which bears the annulet, and consequently we may assume that Archbishop Thurstan had not used it.

The moneyer Ulf was no doubt the father of Thomas Filius Ulf, whose name appears on one of the ecclesiastical issues to which I have just referred, and he, in all probability, was the Thomas Fitz Ulviet, "Alderman of the Guild of Merchants at York," mentioned in the early Pipe Rolls of the following reign.

INSURGENT MONEY.

CARLISLE.

Variety of Stephen's first type, *Hawkins*, 270.

78. *Obverse*.—[✠] **ST[IF]NE RE : ✠ :** As Stephen's first type but of Scottish workmanship. No inner circle, and the fleurs of the crown are interspersed in the legend.

Reverse.—[✠] **DARD : ON : LARD :** As Stephen's first type but larger lettering. Carlisle, 18 grs. Fig. 24.

David of Scotland, as Earl of Huntingdon in England, had been the first of the laity to swear the oath of allegiance to Matilda as heiress to her father's kingdom when, towards the close of his reign, Henry took every possible precaution to secure her peaceful accession as his successor. David's position was delicate, for whilst the Empress Matilda was the daughter of one of his sisters, Matilda of Boulogne, Stephen's Queen was the daughter of the other. Nevertheless, whilst we must give him credit for staunchly complying with both the letter and spirit of his oath, we cannot shut our eyes to the fact that England's turmoils were Scotland's opportunities, and he made the best of them.

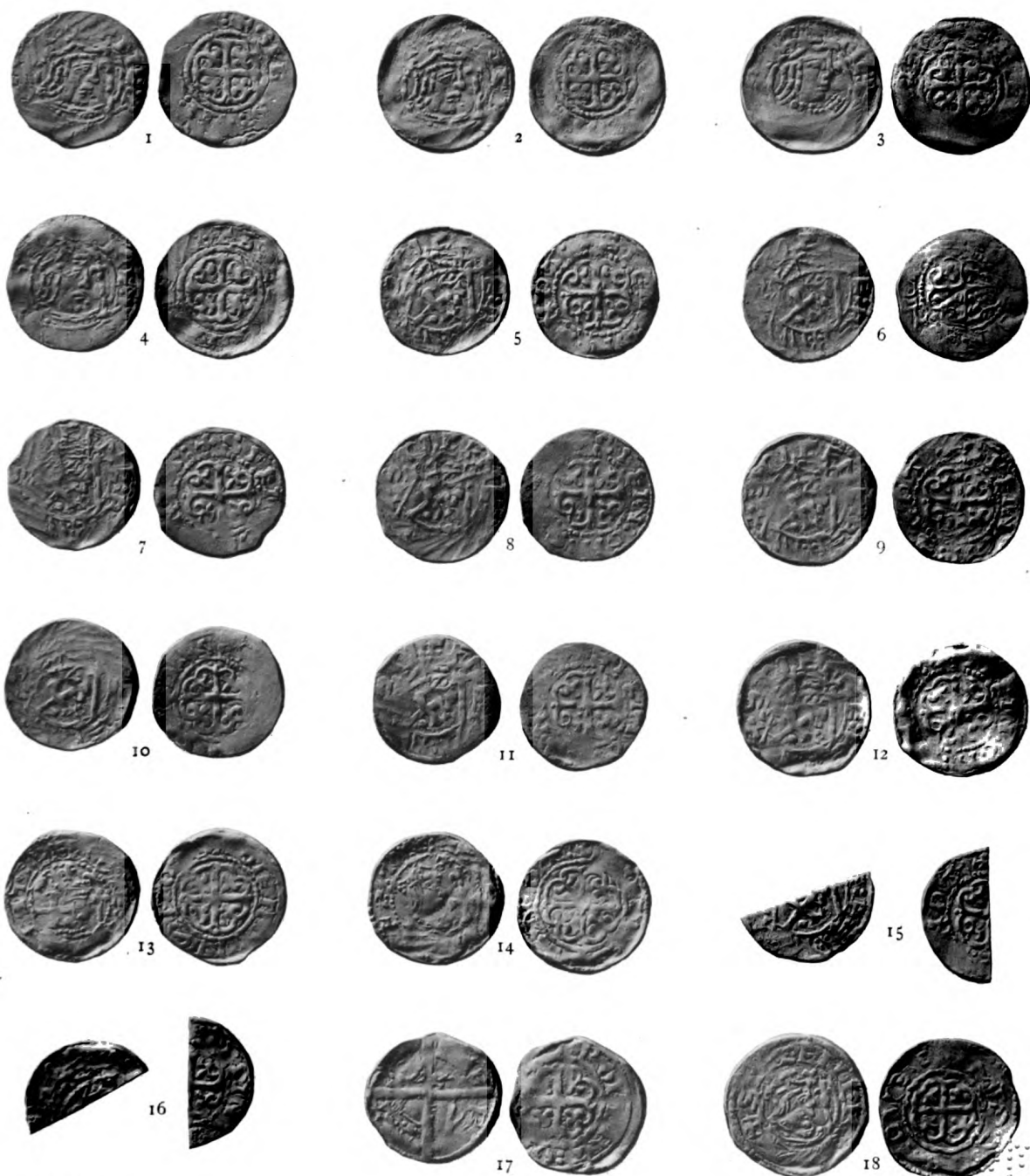
As the second husband of the daughter and heiress of Earl Waltheof, although she had left an heir by her first marriage, he claimed in the alternative either for himself or his son Prince Henry, not only the earldom of Huntingdon which Henry I. had ceded to him, but also that of Northumberland, the city of Carlisle, and other large possessions in England. Immediately upon Stephen's accession he had

seized Carlisle with most of Northumberland and raided England so far as Wessington in Derbyshire. The tentative peace of Durham followed, by which the earldom of Huntingdon and the city of Carlisle were confirmed to his son Prince Henry. It is, however, quite clear that Henry did homage for them as an English Earl, and therefore Carlisle would still remain under the Crown of England, and its mint would be continued as an English mint under the official monetary system.

But England's hands were full, and after the second Scottish raid, although it resulted in the disastrous defeat of David's forces at the Battle of the Standard on August the 22nd, 1138, Stephen was compelled early in the following year to buy peace on his northern frontier by the absolute cession of the earldom of Northumberland and the city of Carlisle to the Crown of Scotland in the person of Prince Henry.

Then it was that the mint at Carlisle would pass from the English to the Scottish fiscal system; but as I have already remarked it was Scotland's policy to issue money on the Border which would pass current with the merchants as English coin, and therefore Prince Henry, as an English Earl, continued to coin at Carlisle money which in every sense, save its fiscal origin, was English money even to the name and title of "Stifne Rex" upon it. At the same time and from the same mint he issued Scottish money, for circulation in Carlisle itself and in the earldom of Northumberland, bearing his own name and title of Earl upon it, and David also coined regal money for Scotland at Carlisle as a Scottish mint. Hence there were three distinct coinages, or types, being issued from the mint at this time.

Although the silver penny before us happens to be exceptionally clear, and is from a carefully sunk die, it is not difficult to recognize its Scottish origin. The lines are harder and thicker, the letters larger and coarser, and the effect of the design is attained with as little work as possible. I have already referred to the lettering, and it will be noticed that the word **REX** is made up of the Scottish **R**, which I have described as being disconnected at the top, giving it the appearance of K, the **E** is normal, but to fill in faulty spacing a colon, :, is introduced and finally an initial cross, ✚, is stamped in to save the trouble of



LONDON STEREOSCOPIC CO.

SILVER PENNIES AND HALFPENNIES OF THE REIGN OF STEPHEN FOUND AT SHELDON, DERBYSHIRE, IN 1867, AND, WITH THE EXCEPTIONS OF Nos. 17 & 18, ALL OF THE NOTTINGHAM MINT.

PLATE I.



making the letter **x**. It should be remembered that the die-sinker could probably neither read nor write and so he copied his model—another coin or picture—by the eye, the result being that whilst an official cuneator would commence his reverse legend with the cross and so fill in any surplusage at the end by additional letters of the name of the mint, the untrained die-sinker commenced where it seemed good to him, and resorted to the expedient of filling in any miscalculated space, or spaces, with a harmless colon :. On some of the Scottish coins we have, therefore, so many as three or four of these colons meaninglessly interspersed in the legends.

The reading of the reverse legend is new to me. It is possible that there should be a letter between the initial cross and the **D** of the moneyer's name, and if so it must have been **O**, as suggested in the description, to make the contemporary name, Odard, which occurs in Domesday under other places, but there is very little room for both cross and letter, so it may be that the word **DARD** is merely a false copy of a badly struck coin of the Carlisle moneyer **RICARD**.

The coin is an imitation of the first variety of Stephen's first type which read **✠ STIFNE REX** on the obverse, and of such were the only dies used by the English moneyers at Carlisle before its transfer to the Scottish crown. Hence they remained the models for Prince Henry's subsequent coinage of which this is an example. Its issue was in direct opposition to Stephen's authority and interests, and therefore I class it as insurgent.

NOTTINGHAM.

The series of insurgent coins issued from Nottingham and present in this hoard is of so interesting a character that I have illustrated nearly every specimen, regardless of the fact that many of them repeat the same dies. With the exception of Figs. 17 and 18, they comprise the whole of Plate I. One or two regal coins are, however, inserted to demonstrate the sequence of evolution.

PENNIES.

Varieties of Stephen's first type, Hawkins, 270.

79-81. *Obverse*.—**✠ STIEFNE : R** As Stephen's first type, but the legend is almost entirely punched or hammered out of the coin.

Reverse.—✠ **SPEIN : ON : SNOT :** As Stephen's first type. Nottingham ; three coins from the same dies, 15½, 16 and 17 grs. Figs. 1 and 2.

82. *Obverse.*—✠ **STIEFNE : R** Similar, and from the same die, but the legend is not defaced.

Reverse.—✠ **SPEIN : ON S : NOT** Similar, but from a different die. Nottingham, 16½ grs. Fig. 4.

83. *Obverse.*—✠ **STIEFNE : R** Similar, but from a different die, characterised by the acute inclination of the sceptre towards the crown.

Reverse.—✠ **SPEI[N : ON : S]NOT :** Similar, but from a different die. Nottingham, 17 grs. Fig. 3.

Varieties of Stephen's first type :—

84-91. *Obverse.*—✠ **STIEFNE : R** more or less punched or hammered out. As Stephen's first type, but a cross Calvary with a pellet in the fourth quarter, extending diagonally from the cheek to the shoulder ; the usual three curves, representing the hair, replaced by a single line or stroke, extending from the back of the crown to nearly the edge of the coin behind the shoulder ; the sceptre surmounted with a blurred cross instead of the fleur-de-lys, and the whole of coarse workmanship.

Reverse.—✠ **SP¹EIN : ON : SNOT :** As Stephen's first type but of coarse workmanship. Nottingham ; eight coins from the same dies, 15 (2), 15½, 16 (2), 16½ (2), and 17 grs. Figs. 5-12.

CUT-HALFPENNIES.

92-94. *Obverse.*—As Nos. 84-91 and from the same die.

Reverse.—As Nos. 84-91 and from the same die. Nottingham ; three coins from the same dies, 7½, 8 and 8½ grs. Figs. 15 and 16.

PENNIES.

A NEW VARIETY FROM THE NOTTINGHAM MINT OF STEPHEN'S FIRST TYPE.

95. *Obverse.*—✠ **STIEFNE : REX** Similar to Nos. 84-91, but the cross is neater and placed horizontally from the cheek to the inner

¹ The curve of the letter P is very faint, and on coins struck after the die was worn illegible.

circle, the pellet is removed to the second quarter, but the line from the back of the crown is absent, and the sceptre is surmounted by a fleur-de-lys; the inner circle, instead of being formed of a line is represented by a string of detached pellets, and the workmanship of the whole is rather neater.

Reverse.—✠ **SIEIN : ON : SNOT** [- ?] As Nos. 84-91. Nottingham, 14½ grs. Fig. 13.

A NEW VARIETY FROM THE NOTTINGHAM MINT OF STEPHEN'S
FIRST TYPE.

96. *Obverse.*—✠ **2TIE : [N R]EX** As Stephen's first type, but the shaft of the sceptre is replaced by a large cross Calvary; the inner circle and outline of the crown are represented by strings of detached pellets, and the whole is of neat workmanship. Part of the legend and the lower portion of the bust are punched or hammered out.

Reverse.—✠ - - - - : **ON : SNOT** : As Stephen's first type. Nottingham, 14 grs. Fig. 14.

The spirit of an age reflects its characters, and there were few more typical personages in the turbulent period of Stephen's day than William Peverel, Castellan of Nottingham and hereditary Custodian of the Royal Forest of The Peak of Derbyshire, also holding in his own right the castles of Bryn, Ellesmere, Overton and Whittington. The third of his name and grandson of the Conqueror's stepson, William Peverel, son of Queen Matilda by her first marriage, he had but recently succeeded his father at the date of Stephen's accession, and under the year 1138 is styled by Ordericus "the young William surnamed Peverel."

Upon Stephen's accession "William Peverel de Nottingham" visited his court and witnessed his coronation charters as a baron, but there is, I think, a difficulty in accepting the chronological sequence of events in his career if we are to follow the chroniclers strictly in the order in which they refer to him, for we should have the curious anomaly of a baron, whilst in revolt against the King, acting as one of the leaders of the royal forces at the battle of the Standard. The revolt which he is recorded as joining is given under the year 1138 and prior to the battle of the Standard, which followed on August the 22nd of the same year.

The Norman monk Ordericus, who specifically mentions William Peverel amongst the insurgent barons and his castles of Bryn, Ellesmere, Overton and Whittington, tells us, however, that the general revolt followed the defection of Earl Robert of Gloucester, the date of which we know to have been 1139. The explanation is that some twenty barons were at one time or another concerned in the insurrection, but although it commenced in 1138 they did not rise simultaneously, nor were they by any means in common cause, but it gradually spread and increased until it culminated in the fall of Stephen at the battle of Lincoln, February the 2nd, 1141. It is evident that William Peverel must have been still on good terms with the King when the latter held his court at Nottingham about Easter, 1139, and received the homage of Prince Henry of Scotland after the Durham treaty. With this necessary explanation I will shortly detail the events in which Peverel was concerned in their corrected order, until the date of the deposit of the Sheldon hoard.

In 1136 David of Scotland had marched through the north of England so far as Wessington, near Ambergate in Derbyshire, raiding Peverel's forests of The Peak and Sherwood.

When, therefore, the Scottish host in the early summer of 1138 again advanced southward into Yorkshire and Lancashire, Peverel, chafing under the previous raid, would be amongst the first to collect his levies and join the defending forces then being collected under the banner of the Archbishop of York; and we are told by the Hexham chronicler that there were present with the troops "William Peverel from the county of Nottingham and Robert de Ferrers from Derbyshire." In his lucid description of the pitched battle of The Standard at Northallerton which followed, Henry of Huntingdon names Peverel first amongst the leaders of the English army, yet in the rewards which followed the great victory, although Robert de Ferrers was created Earl of Derby and William de Albemarle Earl of York, the claims of William Peverel seem to have been entirely overlooked or slighted by Stephen.

As the great-grandson of the Conqueror's Queen, Peverel's claims to reward were second to those of neither Ferrers nor Albemarle;

moreover, Derby was then under the joint shrievalty of Nottinghamshire and Derbyshire, and to create his neighbour Earl of Derby, as Stephen did, and I believe at Easter, 1139, in Peverel's castle of Nottingham, was an encroachment so near home that it would rankle in the heart of "the youthful Peverel." We can therefore quite understand that smarting under this slight, the leader at Northallerton would readily throw in his great resources with the insurgent Barons then in arms throughout the country against the King.

Most of these barons were allied with Robert of Gloucester in the cause of the Empress Matilda but some, of whom Peverel was probably one, seem to have taken an independent line awaiting the result of events for their individual opportunity. I am inclined to think also that Peverel attributed the slight to the influence of Ranulf Earl of Chester, the most powerful potentate in the Midlands, and at that time still attending Stephen's court, for it would account for the personal feud between the two which arose about this time, and continued until the Earl's sudden death in 1153 which, rightly or wrongly, was attributed to poison at Peverel's hands.

Be that as it may, Peverel in 1139 after Easter, revolted from Stephen and fortified all his castles against him, namely, Nottingham, Peverel's Castle of The Peak, Bryn, Ellesmere, Overton and Whittington, and whether because of his power or the strength of his fortresses, the King seems never to have ventured to besiege any of them nor to have measured strength with him.

Towards the close of the year, when Peverel would still be in arms, Stephen met the Earl of Chester and his brother William de Roumare and created the latter titular Earl of Lincoln. Stephen's policy in this was probably an alliance for the crushing of Peverel by the two Earls, one on either side of his territory, but it had the very opposite effect. No sooner had Roumare the title of Earl of Lincoln than he enforced it, and an hereditary claim which he had never abandoned, by the seizure of the royal castle of Lincoln which Ranulf and he promptly fortified against the King and joined the general rebellion. Stephen in January, 1141, advanced against this new danger and besieged the castle. Then it would be that Peverel's opportunity

arose for coming to terms with the King on the one hand, and on the other joining forces with him against their common enemy the Earl of Chester. In the great battle which resulted on the 2nd of February, 1141, Peverel was one of the "few"—another authority says three—"barons of laudable fidelity and valour who would not desert" their King, "even in his necessity, and were made captive," whilst "the earls to a man, for six of them had entered the conflict with the King, consulted their safety by flight." (Malmesbury.)

In those days the invariable practice was to offer a captured enemy the choice between death and the surrender of any castle he might hold, and I know of no exception to the ultimate decision. John, Prior of Hexham, therefore, tells us in the same paragraph as his report of Peverel's capture, "The Empress Matilda deprived William Peverel of the Castle of Nottingham, and placed in it as warden William Paganel with his troops."

But the castle was not the town, and the latter evidently stood out against the new castellan, for Florence of Worcester in a graphic account of the raid which I have already treated in detail in this Journal,¹ supplies the sequel—namely, that at the instigation of "Ralph Paganel"—but whether his correct name was Ralph or William he must have been the castellan—Robert, Earl of Gloucester, at the end of August or early in September of the same year,¹ "finding no force to defend the town," sacked Nottingham; and whether set on fire by his forces or accidentally, it was burnt to the ground.

The reference to there being no defending force is explained by the fact that Peverel was still a prisoner. He would, however, be released with Stephen at the general exchange of prisoners in the November following, namely, 1141, when Robert of Gloucester declared that Stephen's partisans ought also to be given up: and within six months or just before the deposit of the Sheldon hoard, April—May, 1142, he succeeded in recovering his castle under the following romantic circumstances:—

"William Paganel, commander of the soldiers in Nottingham, marched a troop of armed men to Southwell with intent to break down

¹ *British Numismatic Journal*, vol. i, pp. 30 to 32.

the wall wherewith the enclosures of the church of St. Mary were protected, and to carry off the spoil. A great assemblage of the province, which had rushed thither for the defence of the place, acted courageously. There also fell by an arrow-shot one of the soldiers of the enemy's army, who was speaking in a boastful manner against that place. So this William went to the Empress in order that when he returned with a large force of soldiers, he might storm the place. But, behold, in the darkness of the night, by the contrivance of two youths who had charge of the mills, the soldiers of William Peverel scaled the rock on which the castle was built and obtained possession of the town, and expelled from Nottingham all who were in favour of the Empress."

This paragraph in John of Hexham's *Chronicle* has, I believe, escaped notice as recording an incident in which the famous secret passage, known as "Mortimer's Hole," played a silent part; through which, in later times, Edward III. was enabled to gain access to the heart of the Keep and arrest "the gentle Mortimer"—whence its name. It is a narrow passage or stairway, cut through the solid rock from the centre of the Norman fortress to the stream below, where the Castle Mills stood. No doubt in mediæval times it was a covered way to the water for siege purposes, and so was a jealously guarded secret, probably at that time only known to Peverel and his immediate confidants. This explains the reference to the assistance of the youths of the Mills, as through them he would be able secretly to obtain access to it. Probably the Mills then covered its exit.

Under conditions so turbulent as these, we should expect the coinage at Nottingham to reflect some of the vicissitudes of its history, and the evidence lies before us.

Until Peverel's revolt in 1139 the money issued would be regal and normal. It would in that year be of the variety then current of Stephen's first type, which reads for its obverse legend **✠ STIEFNE : R**, and it was in quality and workmanship second to none of the period. This unusual quality and workmanship may have been indirectly due to the presence in the town of Stephen and his Court about Easter, 1139. I here illustrate a specimen from the Nottingham hoard of 1880, now in Mr. Carlyon-Britton's cabinet.

VOL. VII.

F



PENNY OF STEPHEN'S REGAL COINAGE AT NOTTINGHAM, *CIRCA* 1139. FROM THE NOTTINGHAM HOARD.

The actual obverse die from which this coin was struck is, however, not represented in the Sheldon hoard.

For the purpose of comparison, the first 16 coins on our Plate I, namely, Figs. 1 to 16, are coins of Nottingham of the period from 1139 to 1141. Of the first class, namely, Figs. 1 to 4, the obverses of Nos. 1, 2 and 4, are from the same die, and those of the second class, namely, 5 to 12 and 15 and 16, are all from the same die. Yet it will be noticed in the first instance, that whilst Fig. 4 is of the ordinary regal issue, and as such, clear of any defacement, Figs. 1 and 2 have Stephen's name punched or hammered until scarcely a letter is visible. Further to emphasise this curious defacement, I here illustrate an interesting example from the Dartford hoard kindly lent me by Mr. S. M. Spink, on which the whole of the obverse legend is thus carefully erased. Again, referring to the second class, it will be seen that whilst the obverses of Figs. 5, 9 and 12 are free from this defacement, the legends of Figs. 6, 7, 8, 10 and 11 disclose it to a more or less complete degree.



SILVER PENNY OF NOTTINGHAM FROM WHICH STEPHEN'S NAME AND TITLE HAVE BEEN ERASED. FROM THE DARTFORD HOARD.

If these defacements had been made in the dies, it would follow that all coins subsequently struck from them would be uniform; but a glance at our plate decides that this was not the case. For example,

Figs. 1 and 2 disclose the letters **NE** of Stephen's name, which on Mr. Spink's coin, from the same die, are obliterated ; and all the letters variously shown on Figs. 6, 7, 8 and 11 are erased from Fig. 10, and yet it is from the same die from which they were struck. This is, therefore, conclusive evidence that the coins themselves, and not the dies, were subjected to the defacement, and the letters on the reverse are correspondingly flattened by the percussion.

It may be a detail, but there was no more galling position for a baron in revolt, than to have to pay his garrison with coin bearing the name and title of the very King against whom the services of that garrison were asked. Nothing could have been more detrimental to military discipline. When Peverel threw off his allegiance to Stephen in 1139, his first act would be to seize the royal mint at Nottingham and confiscate the stock of coined money. But to use Stephen's "image and superscription" for his military purposes would have been a false policy, and he resorted to the compromise of ordering Stephen's name and title to be erased from the large supply of money already coined, which he thus acquired. At first the order would be conscientiously complied with, and the legend carefully effaced as on Mr. Spink's specimen ; but after hundreds of coins had been so treated a mere show of defacement would be considered sufficient, and Figs. 1, 2 and 3 well represent this.

When this supply of coin became exhausted and more money was required it would be necessary to procure fresh dies. Neither dies nor the iron punches required for their manufacture were available from official sources, and so it was necessary to resort to the art of the local seal-cutter. His untutored hand is obvious in the pair of dies from which Figs. 5 to 12 are struck, but it will be noticed that the obverse bore the name and title of the King. If Peverel had revolted in favour of the cause of the Empress he would probably have refrained from acknowledging Stephen's sovereignty in any form, although his coin to pass as money at all had to conserve with some resemblance to the current regal issue ; but he was playing for his own hand, and he solved the difficulty by imitating Stephen's money as closely as he could, but franked it with his own badge or armorial bearings, which

would be a more than sufficient symbol of authority to satisfy the scruples of his garrison.

If, in venturing to allocate armorial bearings to the year 1139, I am, in the opinion of some far more qualified than am I to express an opinion, antedating the usually accepted date of their use in England by nearly ten years, I must plead that I am only describing what stands forth upon coins, the date of which is beyond cavil, and therefore I submit that the evidence on the Nottingham series, on coins of Roger Bigod and of Ipswich to be presently described, and on various other examples of this period not the subject of this paper, justifies me in so doing.

The armorial bearings of William Peverel III. are not recorded, but Lenton Priory at Nottingham was founded by his grandfather in 1108,¹ and it was very customary for religious houses at a later date to adopt the arms of their founders with or without some slight differences. The arms of Lenton Priory were a cross Calvary, and therefore, when we find the cross Calvary on these curious coins struck at Nottingham at the very time of Peverel's rebellion, it is but a fair inference that the cross Calvary was the badge of the Peverels in Stephen's time, and that Lenton Priory then adopted it.

So far as Peverel was concerned there would be no need of any defacement of the coins bearing his own badge, and, therefore, whoever was responsible for the obliteration of Stephen's name and title upon them it was not he.

I will treat the four distinct varieties we now have of the type bearing the Peverel badge, for Sheldon has added two, in what I believe to be the chronological order of issue, but for this purpose I need only refer to the obverses.

- A. Fig. 14. This coin is the only example known of its kind, and it is as issued from the dies although the surface is not evenly struck. The Peverel cross is cut or punched into the die in place of the shaft of the sceptre, in the same position as the cross of the Abbot of Peterborough described under

¹ See *Henry I.*, pp. 344-45.

No. 76 and other symbols or badges on coins not represented at Sheldon. With the exception of the badge it is a close copy of the variety of the regal coinage current in 1139, and I believe that in the main the die was sunk with official irons which would be at the mint when it was seized, if indeed the die itself was not a regal die merely adapted to Peverel's purposes by the addition of the cross.

- B. Fig. 13. This also is a single example of its variety. The cross is removed to a position much more prominent as it entirely defaces the royal portrait. It is carefully formed although its Calvary character is not so pronounced. After allowing for the pellet which almost invariably points the chin on coins of the period, it will be noticed that there is a roundel, or pellet, in the second or fourth quarter of the cross, according to the position from which it is viewed. A distinct roundel or pellet occurs in the fourth quarter of the cross on variety D, presently described, but until this coin came under observation I was uncertain whether in that case the pellet was not possibly an attempt to mark one at least of the usual row of pearls upon the King's neck. But here the string of pearls appears below and therefore the mark must be taken as attendant on the badge. Although official irons may still have been used for the fleurs, the beaded inner circle and some sections of the lettering, the hand of the untrained seal-cutter is more apparent in this coin, for the irons being of soft metal would gradually wear out and fresh punches had to be supplied. The legend too **✠ 2TIE : NE : REX** is a blundered copy of Stephen's regal money. Probably the die-sinker intended to follow the then customary form of **✠ STIEFNE : R** but failed to read the F, owing perhaps to a faintly struck coin having been used as his model, and, miscalculating his space, filled in the surplusage with **EX**.
- C. This variety, though present as three or four examples in the Nottingham hoard, is not represented at Sheldon. If it had been later in issue than the next variety,—described as D, of

which about twenty specimens were found at Nottingham and eight at Sheldon—we should have expected to see the figures reversed because the actual money being coined should be the most plentiful in a hoard, and if it had been too “new” to find its way into the Nottingham deposit, it certainly would have been in evidence six months later at Sheldon. I dwell on this because it is important, for although the legend upon it, **✠ STIEFNE R** is retained from the regal variety issued in 1139, the absence of the inner circle, to which I have already referred, proves it to have been contemporary with and copied from the latest form of Stephen's first coinage. The coin, which I illustrate for comparison purposes, must therefore have been issued late in the year 1140.



THE THIRD VARIETY OF WILLIAM PEVEREL'S COINAGE. FROM THE NOTTINGHAM HOARD.

Although very similar to variety B, and even more so to variety D, this die is distinguishable from the former by the diagonal position of the cross, which is now, owing to the elongation of its lower limb, of the true Calvary form, and by the absence of the inner circle. There is still sufficient trace in the fleurs, the pellets and perhaps in some of the letters for us to infer that some of the official irons were still used in the preparation of its die, but this is the last of the varieties in which they appear.

Another indication that these three varieties A, B and C, all preceded D, in order of issue, is that I have not met with a single instance of defacement of the legend upon them.

D. Pennies, Figs. 5–12 ; halfpennies, Figs. 15 and 16, which are all from the same obverse die. The Sheldon coins as a

whole were so carelessly struck that they are far from clear in reproduction on our plates. I therefore here illustrate for comparison, an example from the same dies which was found at Nottingham and is now in Mr. Roth's collection.



THE FOURTH AND LAST VARIETY OF WILLIAM PEVEREL'S COINAGE. FROM THE NOTTINGHAM HOARD.

In this coin we see the home-made die pure and simple. There is not a single touch of ornamentation upon it. The lines instead of being beaded or curved are either cut directly into the die or punched with the same tool throughout. Its workmanship should be compared with that of the coin struck at the neighbouring town of Derby, *Hawkins* Fig. 277, which I have attributed to Robert Ferrers, second Earl of Derby, at a rather later date.

It will be noticed that the cross retains its true Calvary character and that the pellet in the fourth quarter is revived. The line extending from the back of the crown to near the edge of the coin behind the shoulder has nothing to do with the Peverel badge, but is merely a rude attempt to copy the coils of hair, or finish off the back of the figure.

I have already explained that after this money had been issued into circulation intact from the dies, some of it was defaced by punching or hammering out the King's name and title on the individual coins which, although more or less shown on Figs. 6, 7, 8 and 11, is clearly proved by Fig. 10.

When compared with Peverel's history as already outlined, these coins tell their own story. In the first die, A (Fig. 14), made for him during his rebellion, he was content to stamp his badge over the royal

sceptre, a position often adopted then and in earlier times by the Bishops and Abbots for their ecclesiastical symbols, and therefore not very drastic in his case. At that time he probably expected that having shown an independent front Stephen would come to terms with him, and he therefore hesitated actually to deface the King's money. But when Stephen made no move and the rebellion spread, Peverel burnt his boats and stamped his badge on his second die, B (Fig. 13), over the actual portrait of his sovereign, thus marking his defiance by the very ignominious position in which he placed Stephen's effigy. After that there was no reason in the world why he should ever erase Stephen's name and title from the coin, for leaving them on it but increased the intended slight. Dies C and D followed as they were required for the supply of his needs, and at the commencement of the year 1141 when he marched to Lincoln and came to terms with the King, there must have been a large local circulation of his money in Nottingham, for the whole of his forces would have been paid with it and it would be the medium for the purchase of his supplies.

The mint at Nottingham was in the town, within the Bridlesmith Gate in my opinion, and Peverel's moneyer Swein was no doubt the *Sueinus de Porta* mentioned in the 1130 Pipe Roll. The *Porta* was probably the Bridlesmith Gate where the Nottingham hoard was discovered, and in our first volume I associated the buried hoard with the interesting story in Florence of Worcester, concerning a treasure which led to the burning of the town late in August or early in September, 1141.¹

During Peverel's expedition to Lincoln supplies would be needed, and his seneschal at Nottingham would be drawing largely on the mint for coined money for the maintenance of his forces. When, therefore, immediately after the battle, the latter, in February, 1141, was forced to surrender the castle to William Paganel as warden for the Empress, there were probably large supplies of coined money in its treasury which would fall into his hands. To Paganel as representative of the Empress Matilda it would be useless, for it bore the name and title of her rival the captive Stephen. Naturally he would resort to the practice which

¹ *British Numismatic Journal*, vol. i, pp. 30 to 32.

had been followed at her strongholds of Bristol and Hereford and also, as I have already suggested, by Peverel at Nottingham, of erasing the obverse legend. Hence to account for their defacement, Figs. 6, 7, 8, 10 and 11 must have been issued by Peverel and have subsequently passed into the hands of William Paganel as the representative of the Empress; for if Paganel issued any money at all during his tenure of Nottingham Castle, that money would have borne the title of the Empress.

A year afterwards, and just before the deposit of our coins, the tables were again turned, and Peverel recovered his castle and all that was in it. This would include just such a curious conglomeration as in its minor key is represented by the Sheldon hoard; that is, money mainly collected at Lincoln, where Paganel had fought, and at Nottingham where he was castellan, and from the supporters of the party of the Empress; as opposed to treasure gradually gleaned by trade or otherwise from the general regal currency of the kingdom.

We must remember that, with the exceptions of those contained in the Nottingham and Sheldon hoards, no single specimen of Peverel's money has ever been found, and therefore its currency must have been strictly local to Nottingham, and probably it was refused in exchange outside the range of his personal influence.

IPSWICH.

Variety of Stephen's first type, *Hawkins* 270.

PENNY.

97. *Obverse*.—[✚] **ST** - - - - Very rude imitation of Stephen's first type; a roundel behind the head.

Reverse.— - - **STAN[O] : ON : GIP** As Stephen's first type.
Ipswich, 12 grs. Fig. 21.

This coin is one of a series as to which, I am sorry to say, I have as yet made up neither my notes nor my mind, though I trust to do both before the section is reached in my "Numismatic History of Stephen."

Meanwhile I will review the question from the evidence at my present disposal and tentatively offer a suggestion.

The coin is from a home-made die such as those I have been just discussing. It is therefore an emergency coin, struck when and where official dies were not forthcoming, but it must be considered with the series of which it is but a sample. In one respect it materially differs from its fellows, for on it alone the roundel is promoted to a position upon the obverse, all others, and there are several, bearing the same badge or symbol singly, doubly or trebly on the reverse.

A specimen of the same type although the roundel was not mentioned,—perhaps it was overlooked,—appeared in the Dartford hoard and read - - - **ANCO : ON : GIP**. We may therefore assume that the Sheldon coin was issued by the same moneyer and mint. This is practically certain when we compare its workmanship with the example in Mr. Carlyon-Britton's cabinet which I here reproduce.



A COIN OF IPSWICH BEARING THE BADGE OF BOULOGNE. NOT FROM THE
SHELDON HOARD.

In the dies of the two coins we probably see the hand of the same untrained die-sinker, and in this relation it would be worth while to examine some other specimens of this mint described in the Rashleigh sale catalogue and elsewhere as of rude workmanship. Mr. Carlyon-Britton's coin reads:—*Obverse*, ✠ **ST** - - - - . *Reverse*, ✠ **RODGIER : ON : GIPES :** and although the name of the moneyer is a little doubtful that of the mint is certain. On this variety the badge takes the form of three roundels in line.

These two coins with one other, bearing two roundels, are however the only examples, so far as I at present know, for which

makeshift dies have been used, for the rest of the series appear to be struck from regal dies on which the roundels have been subsequently cut; an example of this class being illustrated below.

At Ipswich, the same moneyer, with his name spelt "Rogier," presents on his regal die two roundels in line horizontally at opposite ends of the reverse cross, whilst another, Osebern, also uses two in line both horizontally and perpendicularly, and Edmund shows three in line as on Mr. Carlyon-Britton's example. Finally, the same mint supplies a cut halfpenny, now in Mr. Roth's collection, which shows a large roundel at the end of one line of the cross, and a smaller roundel at the base of the fleur in the angle, but whether there was any repetition of these on the other half of the coin, is an open question.



A PENNY FROM REGAL DIES BEARING THE BADGE OF BOULOGNE. NOT FROM THE SHELDON HOARD. P. W. P. CARLYON-BRITTON.

At St. Edmundsbury the moneyer Gilebert is content with a single roundel in the centre of the reverse cross. At Sudbury, a moneyer whose name, I think, reads Edward, places a roundel at the end of both the first and second arm of the reverse cross. The roundels are therefore used indifferently as one, two or three.

The first point we notice is that the three mints which are responsible for the series are in the county of Suffolk, and within about twenty miles of one another. This was perhaps, of all others, a little corner of England staunch to Stephen's cause. Alan, Earl of Richmond and Brittany, owned the *tertius denarius* of the Borough of Ipswich whilst Stephen, as Count of Mortain, shared most of the rest of the county with Hugh Bigod, Earl of Norfolk. Both earls had fought with Stephen at Lincoln, and though Earl Alan was subsequently captured, and Hugh Bigod entered into treaty, the writ of Matilda the Empress, probably never ran in the county of Suffolk.

Although varied in its details, the series is represented by coins very few in number and therefore probably issued during a short period only. Fortunately, the St. Edmundsbury example gives us the approximate date. In its case the roundel has been cut in the centre of a reverse die, which is used with an obverse of regal issue reading **✠ STIEFNE** and without the inner circle. As this was the last variation of the type it must have been a die made but shortly before the date of the battle of Lincoln, and therefore in existence during Stephen's captivity.

The only occasion when official dies or irons for making dies required by Stephen's partisans were not obtainable, was during the few months between March and June 24th, 1141, whilst the Empress Matilda was at first treating with the Londoners, and later in actual occupation of London. At this time Matilda, Stephen's Queen, was raising money and arms for her ultimately successful attempt to release her husband.

Queen Matilda, as the only child and sole heiress of Eustace late Earl of Boulogne, was Countess of Boulogne and as such was ultimately succeeded by her son Eustace, then aged about ten years. The badge of the House of Boulogne, and therefore, during Stephen's captivity, of the Royal House of England, was three bezants—and the globular figures I have described would, in heraldry, strictly be termed bezants.

My tentative opinion therefore is that this money is franked for Stephen's Queen, Matilda of Boulogne, at the time when Stephen was no longer a power in the land, and when his partisans flocked to her banner.

LINCOLN? See later under UNCERTAIN.

THETFORD.

Variety of Stephen's first type, *Hawkins* 270.

98. *Obverse*.—**✠ | STI | FNE | R** From a regal die of Stephen's first type, upon which a broad cross has been cut from edge to edge.

Reverse.—**✠ ROBERT : ON : [TET]** As Stephen's first type. Thetford, 15½ grs. Fig. 17.

Although only the fourth example I have seen of the Thetford mint, this coin is one of a class of at least twenty coins bearing the same cross on the obverse but all the remainder are from the Norwich mint. Also, two or three of the latter mint bear in addition one or more small crosses in its angles, which I have no hesitation in believing to be the voucher of the Bishop of Norwich, and a third variety bears a cross very similar to Peverel's coinage, and in the same position across the King's portrait. Of the Thetford mint, too, there is a variety on which the cross is relegated to the reverse and punched over the arms of the usual cross moline within the inner circle.

With one exception, all the coins known of the series previously to this coin, came from the Nottingham hoard, and were then thought to be new to modern numismatics, but the exception, now in Mr. Roth's cabinet, had been previously recorded though where it was found is not stated. Hitherto it has not been noticed that at least four of the class, including that before us, had their origin at Thetford. The Sheldon specimen can only be so attributed by its moneyer, but in view of the fact that one of the others reads **✠ B[ALD]WI : ON : TET** and that with the cross on the reverse **✠ BALDWI : ON : T :**, it is sufficient.

Whilst for most of the coins it is quite clear that a regal obverse die has been used, as in this instance, and the cross cut upon it, there are one or two on which the letters of the legend appear to be purposely spaced so that the arms of the cross will pass between them. In that case the die must have been originally sunk for the cross, but I think the same result may have been attained by carefully selecting the position of the cross so that the arms fitted the existing spaces, and the arms sometimes deviate a little from the true right angle, probably for this purpose.

Of the turbulent barons of the era few, if any, were more independent than Hugh Bigod. The death of his elder brother by the loss of the White Ship, in 1120, had left him heir to the vast estates in Norfolk and Suffolk of his father, and his power in East Anglia was almost regal. He took a leading part in Stephen's accession by affirming that Henry I. on his deathbed had disinherited his daughter the Empress—

a somewhat improbable story which served Stephen's purpose although few believed it. Stephen appointed him a Royal Dapifer yet in May, 1136, when the king was seized with illness, and it was reported that he was dead, "Hugh Bigod seized Norwich Castle, nor would he surrender it save to the king in person, and that very reluctantly."¹ Then it was, I think, that the old ballad credits him with the verse:—

"Were I in my Castle of Bungey,
Upon the River Waveney,
I would ne care for the King of Cockney."

This early use of the word Cockney refers to the fact that the Londoners were throughout the mainstay of Stephen's tenure of the crown. The seizure of the royal castle of the county savours of a bid for the earldom, for Bigod's position was very similar to that of Peverel—which I have treated with more detail. He had been of the greatest assistance to the new King, and as yet remained unrewarded. Hence, either in 1139 or early in 1140 he also threw off his allegiance and fortified his castles against the King. Bungay was his seat, but Norwich and Thetford were under his influence, and there is no doubt that he would again hold Norwich and also Thetford. At Whitsuntide 1140, Stephen advanced against him, and although he besieged and captured Bungay,² he did not subdue Bigod who was probably at Norwich. In August the King therefore again advanced into East Anglia to attack him, with the result that they ultimately came to terms. That the terms were all in Bigod's favour, is indicated by the fact that this truculent baron was created Earl of Norfolk.

At the Battle of Lincoln, Earl Hugh stood in the line with Stephen, but was overthrown and fled. He appears to have presently treated with Matilda, and attended her court, although he maintained a neutral position. His subsequent history and rebellions do not concern the subject before us.

The parallel between the history of Hugh Bigod and that of

¹ *Henry of Huntingdon.*

² This fact shows that the ballad I have quoted must have been anterior to this date.

William Peverel is as identical as the parallel between their respective coins. The Bigod's arms were a cross gules and we need not hesitate therefore to identify the cross cut on the coins with them. This cross on some of the specimens is very neatly formed with each of its terminations carefully finished. There was only a single moneyer working at the royal mint of Nottingham so Peverel's supply of dies was very limited and would soon wear out, and therefore substitutes had to be made, for coined money to an insurgent baron was a necessity in quantity. But Norwich had six moneyers and Thetford four, so the supply of regal dies would be ample for Bigod's requirements ; hence he used the regal dies alone. I can find no coin from the dies which were contemporary with his seizure of Norwich Castle in 1136, so that rising was probably of too short a duration for any change in the monetary system. But, with one exception, the dies, including all those of Thetford, which were used for the badge, synchronize exactly with those used by Peverel and issued in 1139. This fact proves that the bulk of the money was struck for the purposes of Bigod's rebellion.

The exception to which I have just referred, is a die of the very latest of Stephen's regal type, so often described. This die, or the irons for its manufacture, must have been delivered at Norwich subsequently to Bigod's treaty with Stephen, or very shortly before the Battle of Lincoln. I think, therefore, that immediately after the battle Bigod reverted to his own coinage and reissued the money on the principle that for all commercial purposes a living earl was better than a dethroned king. It was on a par with the neutral position he adopted, and in keeping with the methods of his personal ambition.

UNCERTAIN but probably LINCOLN.

Imitation of Stephen's first type, but with a retrograde portrait.

CUT-HALFPENNY.

99. *Obverse.*—✠———**N** As Stephen's first type, but the bust is to left, although the legend reads to the right.

Reverse.— ——— - - **ICO** - - - As Stephen's first type. Lincoln?

7 grs. Fig. 31.

Although there is a type of this reign with a rather similar obverse, but quite differing in its reverse, this coin has nothing to do with it, for the details of the design and workmanship are quite distinct. For instance, the type bears no inner circle, whereas on this coin, although scarcely visible on its illustration, traces of it appear, and the treatment of the hair is also a factor. It is therefore not a "mule."

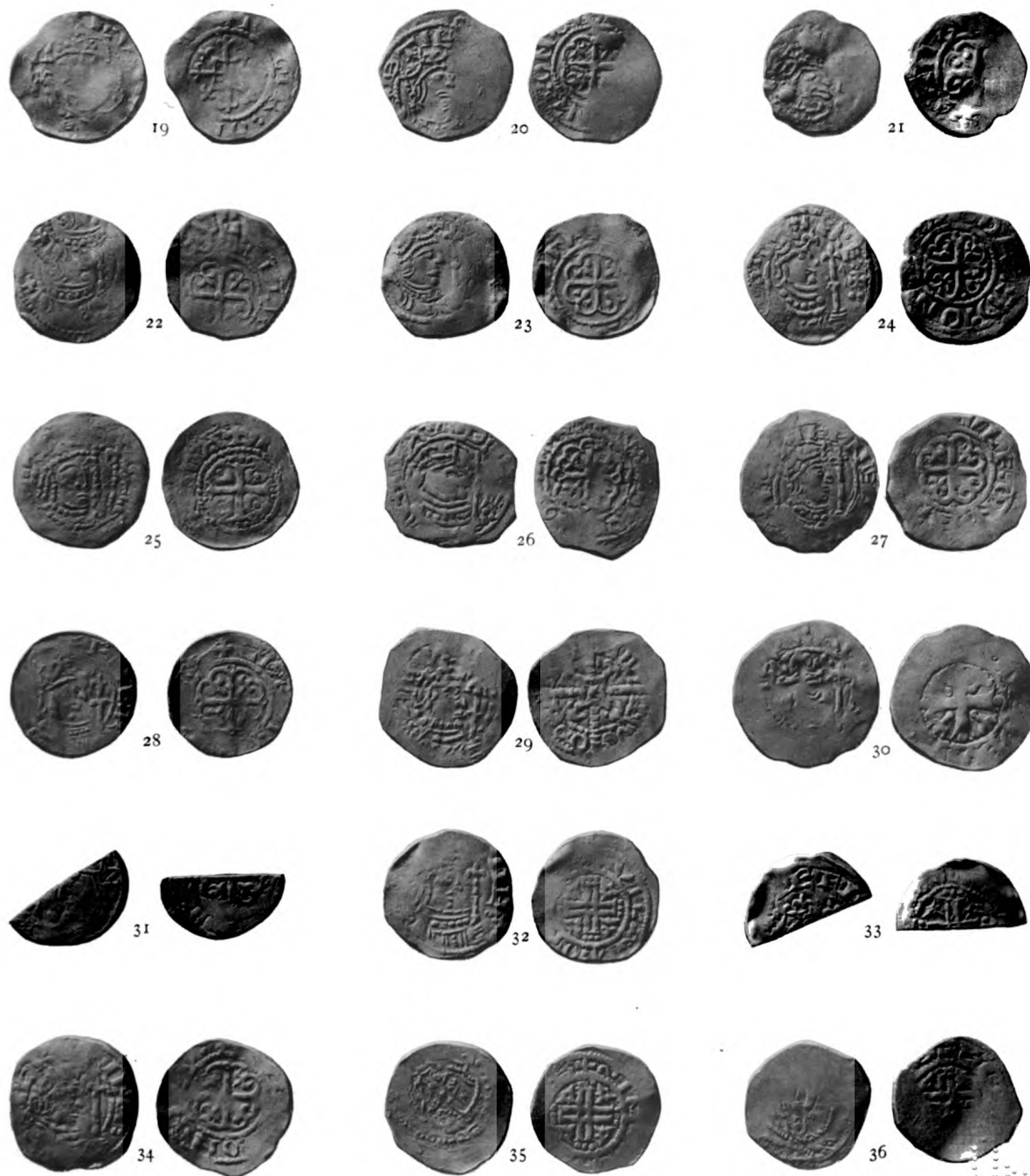
It represents a class, limited to three or four examples, for which unofficial dies have been made and the local die-sinker has copied the design of a coin directly upon the metal without remembering its reversal on the striking. He has, however, probably used official irons for the lettering, the **N** being particularly good, and so the mistake in reversal would not apply to it.

The legend is broken by the fleurs of the crown and consequently ends with the **N** of Stephen's name, the space being too curtailed for more. There is an insurgent coin of the usual type in Mr. Roth's collection bearing the diplomatic legend **REX : AN** without any King, or claimant's name, which also ends in **N**, but I do not think that there is any relation between the two.

The letters **ICO** on the reverse naturally suggest the then mint name **NICOLE** for Lincoln,¹ and the coin is probably of that city, but in default of stronger evidence I do not care definitely so to attribute it.

Assuming it to be of Lincoln I would refer to the account I have already given of the seizure of the Castle about Christmas, 1140-41, by William de Roumare, the then recently created Earl of Lincoln, and his half-brother Ranulf, Earl of Chester. The position would be that as the mint was in the City and the City remained loyal to Stephen, de Roumare would be cut off from any dies and for the money he required he would have to furnish his own. The dies for this coin would be such as upon an emergency would be likely to result. The coin, in that case, must have been issued immediately before the battle of Lincoln, for the official dies would then fall into the hands of the party of the Empress and any further money issued from Lincoln would be, as it was, in her name.

¹ See *Henry I.*, pp. 267-68.



LONDON STEREOSCOPIC CO.

COINS OF HENRY I., STEPHEN, DAVID I. OF SCOTLAND, AND THE EMPRESS MATILDA
FROM THE SHELDON HOARD.

PLATE II.



COINS OF THE EMPRESS MATILDA.

THE SECOND ISSUE OF THE EMPRESS, *Hawkins* 632, but a new variety.

100. *Obverse*.—✠ **PERERICM** : As Stephen's first type.

Reverse.—✠ **SIPÆ[RD] : ON : NICO** : As Stephen's first type.
Lincoln, 19 grs. Fig. 34.

Until I questioned the attribution before the Society in July, 1907, the class of coins bearing the obverse legend ✠ **PERERIC** and its variations, had for sixty years been attributed to Roger, Earl of Warwick, one who played little part in his day—a man of peace rather than of war. The attribution was merely based upon the similarity of PERERIC, or WERERIC if the initial be for W, to WERWIC = Warwick, regardless of the fact that the use of his territorial, instead of his Christian name by an Earl, or anyone else, was then unthought of and unknown. Moreover as these coins occur of mints such as London, Winchester, Canterbury, Bristol, Lincoln, Stamford, Oxford, Bedford, Wareham, etc., the power and influence of the Earl must have been secondary only to that of a king—a hopeless proposition.

Obviously, the only person in whose name money could have been issued at mints spread nearly all over the country—and the list would probably be extended if we had not to rely for our information on the mere accident of discovery—was either Stephen himself or the Empress Matilda. Stephen is ruled out as impossible, for his name and title have no break in their sequence, and so Matilda remains.

As I have before explained at greater length,¹ she doubtless brought over her French cuneators when she landed in England on September the 30th, 1139. Her first type was issued at her stronghold of Bristol, and although to pass in the markets at all, it had to conform with Stephen's current type, it was necessarily foreign in character. Instead, therefore, of bearing her name, her title alone appeared upon its obverse, and another foreign characteristic was the substitution of a

¹ "A Numismatic History of the Reign of Stephen," Introduction, *British Numismatic Journal*, vol. vi, pp. 179-83.

colon, ":", for the usual initial cross : also on its reverse the French form **DE** replaced the English **ON**. The legend, therefore, read **: IMPERATR** for *Imperatricis*, meaning "The money of the Empress."¹

But when, in February, 1141, the mint of Lincoln fell into her hands and dies were ordered to be made bearing this title, the work would be placed in the hands of the die-sinker who had cut the dies for the Newark mint of her staunch supporter, Alexander, Bishop of Lincoln. These coins of Newark I brought to the notice of the Society in July, 1908,² and they have the peculiarity that, to adopt the simile of a clock face, they commence their obverse legend at figure **IIII** instead of figure **VIII**. It was therefore only natural that he would commence the new inscription in the same place. When only the clergy could either read or write he would copy his written instructions by the eye and, as in the first variety of her money, commence it with the colon ":". On the other hand the initial cross, which invariably touches the King's shoulder on Stephen's money, which his instructions were to imitate, would be taken by him as part of the design rather than of the legend, and in this I rather agree with him, for it is not a letter but a symbol. The result was **: I : PERERICIS**. The only mistakes he made, therefore, in his first die of the new type were to omit the letter **M**, probably from want of space, and to read **AT** of his instructions into **E**. No doubt his attention was called to the more important omission of the letter **M** and the coin before us resulted, for at the Meeting of July, 1907, I admitted that it was certainly curious that the **M** should have been absent—and now it is supplied, for this is the first coin of the class yet discovered on which that letter occurs.

Only at first would this system of reading the legend from the right hand side of the coin be followed, and therefore we only see it at Lincoln and Stamford, which latter place fell into Matilda's hands immediately after Lincoln, and at Winchester, where she arrived in person four weeks later. After that, when the dies were made else-

¹ For the Latin inscriptions on the coins of Eustace FitzJohn and others of this period, both in England and abroad, the genitive is used.

² *British Numismatic Journal*, vol. v, p. 440.

where by English cuneators who merely copied her money, the form became stereotyped as **PERERIC** and commenced in the usual English position of the times.

To simplify the above I will now tabulate the inscriptions attempted and produced in their chronological order, omitting the symbol of the usual initial cross.

- | | |
|----------------------------|--|
| 1. : IMPERATR[ICIS] | Matilda's first type. |
| 2. : IMPERATR[ICIS] | The probably written instructions. |
| 3. : I : PER E RIC | First die at Lincoln, February, 1141. |
| 4. I : PER E RIC | Second die at Lincoln ; Stamford. |
| 5. I • PER E RIC | At Winchester in March, 1141. |
| 6. M : PER E RIC | At Lincoln, the coin now forthcoming. |
| 7. PER E RIC | The stereotyped form subsequently adopted. |

Another interesting point in relation to these coins is that their form of legend discloses their chronological sequence.

At the time of the revolt at Bristol, the 1139 variety of Stephen's first type was being issued, and therefore the later variety was never known there. As Earl Robert marched to Lincoln direct from Gloucester and Bristol, it was only natural that for the first of Matilda's dies, sunk at Lincoln, the form of legend last in vogue at the royal mint at Bristol should be that adopted for imitation on the die. Reading, therefore, both legends as they would appear to the illiterate merchants and others with whom Matilda's money was designed to pass current as regal issue, the arrangement of the final colons synchronized thus :—

- ♣ **STIEFNE : R :** Stephen's 1139 variety.
- ♣ **PERERIC : I :** Matilda's first die at Lincoln.

But at the royal mint at Lincoln the 1140 variety of Stephen's type had long superseded its predecessor, and so it followed that Matilda's subsequent dies were corrected to imitate it, thus :—

- ♣ **STIEFNE :** Stephen's 1140 variety.
- ♣ **PERERICI :** Matilda's second dies at Lincoln and Stamford.
- ♣ **PERERICM :** Matilda's third die at Lincoln.
- ♣ **PERERIC :** Matilda's subsequent dies, corrected to the proper number of letters in exact imitation.

It was suggested by the late Sir John Evans, and has been repeated over and over again, that there is a feminine cast in the portraits of Matilda's coins. Of course, this did not apply to the class under discussion, for it has hitherto been attributed to the Earl of Warwick. As a matter of fact, some of the portraits—and after all, portraiture was attempted to a certain extent—are of a severe type and masculine to a degree, as, for example, that on the coin before us. True, on two coins from one die, in Mr. Roth's collection, of Matilda's recognised coinage the portrait might be so considered, but they have never been seen by the writers in question, and the effect is, I think, accidentally produced by the curious, and probably foreign workmanship of the die. We must, however, abandon any idea that a portrait of Matilda was attempted. The device of her money was, as I have explained, intended to pass muster as Stephen's, and with the difference of the inscription, it was therefore an exact copy. Matilda was never crowned, and therefore a crowned bust could not represent her; but to have placed a woman's effigy upon her money would have limited its circulation to her immediate influences. Henry the Bishop's money bears the crowned head of Stephen with merely the symbol of his crozier in place of the royal sceptre (*Hawkins* 279), and it might just as well be suggested that the *crowned* portrait is his as that the male effigy upon Matilda's money is intended to represent her. Like that of the reverse, it is merely a design—a necessary design—to conform with the English coinage of the day.

Of course, when a royal mint fell into the hands of Matilda's forces the staff fell with it, and it was only necessary to change the obverse dies; for the existing reverse dies of the individual moneyers served her purpose quite as well as that of the King. I believe that Matilda's dies conformed with the rule in Stephen's case, namely, that at some of the mints they were made on the spot from irons supplied by her cuneators, and at others the complete dies were supplied by them, sometimes from Bristol, sometimes from Lincoln, and sometimes from London, wherever for the time being the seat of her government happened to be. The moneyer Siward, whose name appears on this penny, had coined for Stephen at Lincoln in the latest variety of his

first type, and also in the first variety of this type of Matilda's money which followed it at that mint.

A NEW TYPE OF THE EMPRESS MATILDA, NAMELY, HER SECOND
SUBSTANTIVE TYPE.

101. *Obverse*.— - - - **IMP** Crowned bust facing with sceptre to left and star of six rays to right. The crown is composed of a lower convex line of dotted pearls, above which are two similar lines curving upwards to a surmounting fleur-de-lys in the centre, with a fleur-de-lys upon each side of the crown, below which and curving outwards from the sides are a dotted and plain short line for the bands. The eyes are represented by annulets, above which are angular eyebrows, and the rest of the features are mere lines. A collar of pearls is upon the neck and the drapery extends to the lower edge of the die. The next coin shows pearl ornamentation on the drapery and that the sceptre is held in the figure's right hand, but this is indistinct on the piece we are considering. The inner circle is broken for the bust and fleurs of the crown, and both inner and outer circles are formed of strings of pearls. The whole is of rude and indefinite workmanship.

Reverse.—✠ **QIMVND [ON LER]E** : As Stephen's second type, Hawkins 269. Leicester, 16 grs. Fig. 35.

102. *Obverse*.—Legend illegible. As the preceding coin but I think from a different die.

Reverse.—✠ **[QIMVND ON L]ERE** : From the same die as the preceding coin. Leicester, 14½ grs. Fig. 36.

The discovery of these two coins is a most important step in the numismatic history of the period, for it proves that Matilda's coinage was not restricted to the actual time during which the crown of England was in her hands. They are imitations of, and intended to pass with the merchants as Stephen's second type, which, as I have already shown, was not issued until after his release from prison and at least nominal restoration to the throne. It is therefore obvious that before they could be imitated from his money, both his obverse and reverse dies must have been issued and coins from them current at some of his mints. This must have been in March or April, 1142, or immediately before the deposit of the Sheldon hoard.

It will, however, be noticed that whilst Matilda was forced to imitate Stephen's second type sufficiently for her money to pass current with it, she has, nevertheless, maintained some semblance of dignity by selecting for her model of the obverse the last type but one of her father's coinage, namely, Henry I., *Hawkins* Fig. 262, which closely resembled Stephen's new money. This explains the star to the right of the portrait, which is absent on the regal type.

The obverse dies are clearly of the home-made order, but I am inclined to believe that this does not apply to that of the reverse for which regal irons were probably used. The coins are most carelessly struck, which has rendered the decipherment of the lettering a somewhat tedious process. There can, I think, be no question that the true reading of the visible letters on the obverse is **IODP** for *Imperatricis* as before, and, were the coins clearly struck, there is little doubt that the full legend would be **:MATILDIS: IODP**, or some contraction of the name.

I have also very little hesitation in assigning these two coins to the mint of Leicester. They belong to a small class composed of curious and varying designs, and issued, I believe, at this date, which bears the reverse legend ***SIMVN: ON: LERE:** or ***SIMVND: ON: LERE:**. Unfortunately, on every specimen the initial of the mint name is not quite definite, for the lower portion only of it is visible, but I do not know of any other town than Leicester to which it can be applied, for the foot proves that it must represent **L**, **E** or **Ɔ**, and therefore **H** for Hereford fails.

Leicester is upon the Fosse Road and it was by that ancient Roman way that Robert of Gloucester, with his forces from the west, marched to and from the battle of Lincoln. It was a mint-town, and therefore when, after the battle, the City of Lincoln was sacked and given over to pillage, it was a most likely place for the establishment of a mint for the immediate coinage of the treasure captured there into current money, for the payment of the large expenses entailed by Matilda's sudden accession to power. Leicester was within the See of Alexander, Bishop of Lincoln, and in any case it is probable that the town would be placed under his nominee as warden for the Empress.

Robert de Beaumont, second son of the Count of Meulan, had been created Earl of Leicester by Henry I. who gave him in marriage Amice daughter and heiress of Ralph de Guader together with Breteuil and her large territories in Normandy. He was present at Henry's death but, although he visited England at intervals, he resided in Normandy during the earlier years of Stephen's reign. At the date of the battle of Lincoln, in which his twin brother Waleran, who had succeeded their father as Count of Meulan, deserted Stephen at the onset and fled, he was one of the King's chief officers in the defence of Normandy against the invasion of Geoffrey of Anjou, Matilda's husband. On hearing of the result of the battle he arranged a truce with Geoffrey pending his brother's arrival in Normandy, and in the autumn extended this into a treaty by which both Earls retained their possessions.

We are not told what happened at Leicester following Stephen's defeat, but when Nottingham Castle was surrendered to the Empress it was not probable that Leicester would be left outstanding when the head of the Beaumonts had fought on Stephen's side. But Robert of Gloucester's eldest son and heir, William, afterwards Earl of Gloucester, had married the Earl of Leicester's daughter, and no doubt this connection was a factor in the events which followed. On the one hand Leicester would be surrendered to Robert of Gloucester on his march to Lincoln, and on the other, the terms offered to Geoffrey in Normandy would be accepted.

Lincoln, as I have said, had been sacked after the battle, and when the army of the Empress returned through Leicester, on its way back to Bristol, it is probable that the place would be garrisoned and its mint utilized for current expenses. It is significant that about this date there is a charter of grant by de Beaumont to Bishop Alexander of Lincoln in recompense for the part he had played in the arrest of the Bishop at Oxford in 1139,¹ and it is probable that Alexander, owing to the destitution of Lincoln, opened an ecclesiastical mint here during the temporary occupation, also it is likely that money of the first type of the Empress was coined, though it has not yet come to our

¹ See *Geoffrey de Mandeville*, pp. 415-16

notice. Leicester would still be in the possession of the Empress, early in 1142, when the two coins before us were minted.

Robert the Earl of Leicester from the date of his treaty held aloof from the party strife, but he finally threw off his allegiance to Stephen and became one of his most powerful opponents. Whether therefore he issued two coins now in Mr. Roth's collection which, with the exception of the omission of the star, are similar in type to those under discussion, bearing the name, ✠ **ROBETV** .•. on the obverse for himself at Leicester¹ at this period or, and I think it the more likely, whether they were issued in the name of his daughter's father-in-law the Earl of Gloucester, must remain an open question, until perhaps the discovery of others bearing the same legend but from another mint may decide it.

It is quite likely that as the army of the Empress marched to Lincoln from the West, the moneyer Simund came with it from Exeter, where the name, as Simon, occurs on other coins, and that he was appointed to the office at Leicester.

Now that to some extent at least we know the nature and history of the Sheldon find from its internal evidence, it is but natural that we should endeavour to account for its deposit amongst the hills of North Derbyshire.

In my opening pages, I have shown that it was discovered within the curtilage of the old hall at Sheldon. This hall was the mediæval home of the Sheldons of Sheldon, and the latest reference to it that I can find—and that but indirect, is that in the Subsidy Roll of 1599 Hugh Sheldon was assessed for his lands there at 40s. ; and therefore probably soon after that date the hall may have been abandoned to its ruins. In Domesday Book *Scelhadun* (Sheldon) is recorded as a bere-wick of Ashford and in the possession of the King ; but as early as at the commencement of the reign of Henry III.—or within eighty years of the deposit of the coins—the Sheldons of Sheldon were squires of

¹ Until I had the opportunity of comparing these with the two coins of Matilda I was under the natural but erroneous impression that the initial L of the mint name indicated Lincoln.

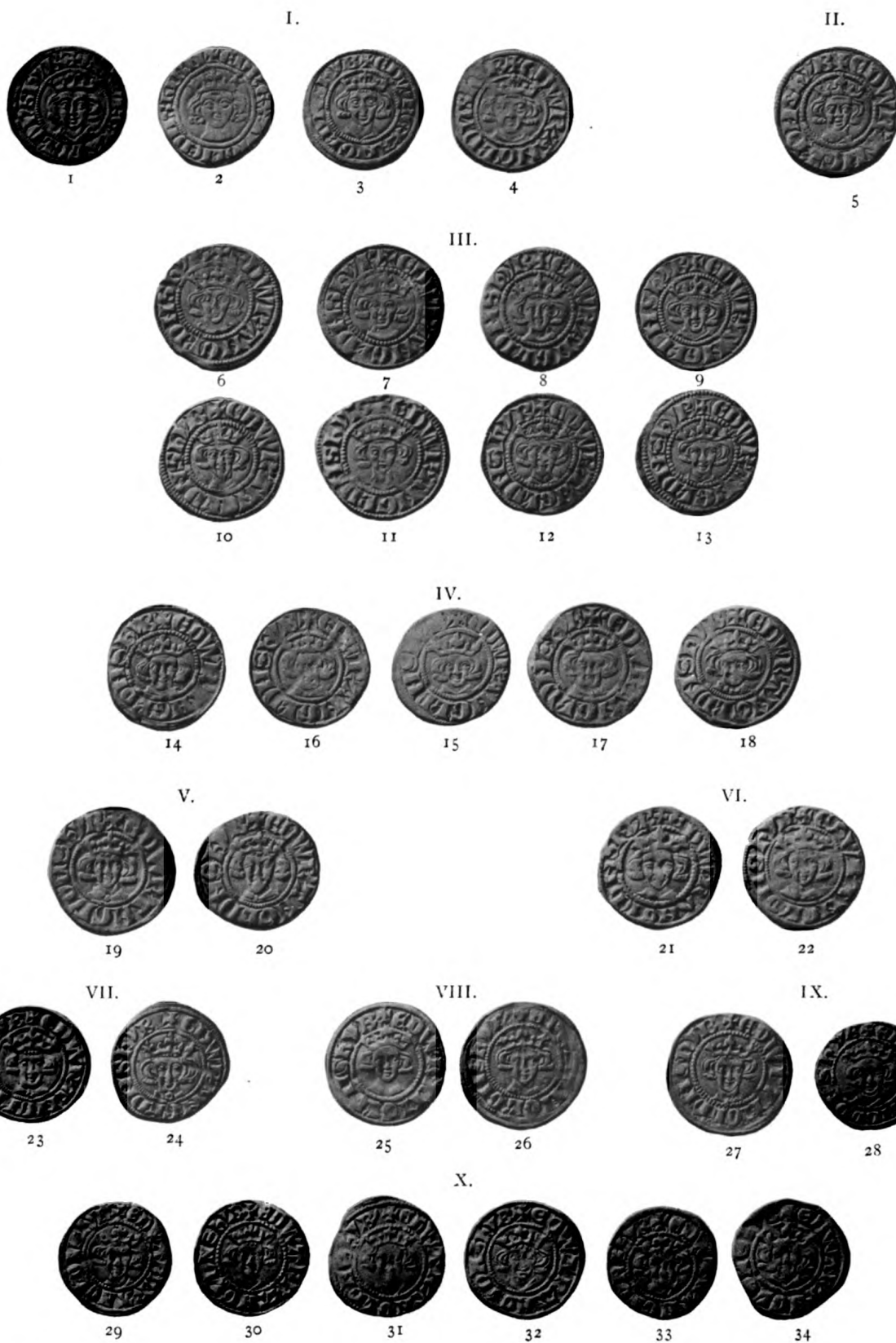
importance in the county and owned large possessions around their manor. A considerable portion of their lands was within the royal Forest of The Peak, and in consequence the Sheldon of Stephen's time would be an esquire of the household of William Peverel of Nottingham, and subject to military service under his banner. The records of the family unfortunately do not go back earlier than the date I have given, but they are numerous from that time and one is worth repetition. In the Assize Roll of 4th Edward III. is the entry.

The same year at Ashford, one Richard son of Ely Sheldon shot Walter le Hayward with an arrow, whereupon he forthwith died. And after the deed he immediately fled and was suspected. His chattels were worth 24s. of which J. Bret the sheriff, to answer. And he was in the frankpledge of William le Reve of Ashford, who hath him not, therefore, in mercy. Richard the son of the said Walter was the first finder and does not come, but was suspected. And he was attached by John Evenyld and Roger le White. Therefore they are in mercy. No Englishry presented. Judgment—murder upon the Wapentake.

The treasure evidently came from Nottingham. It was money of the partisans of the Empress, because the proportion of insurgent coin is far too large to be accounted for by ordinary trade or exchange. Its Nottingham currency had passed through first the defacement by William Peverel, and subsequently the defacement by William Paganel. It was therefore exactly a sample of what the treasure found in the coffers of Nottingham Castle, when Peverel scaled the rock and regained possession of it from Matilda's warden, would be; and its amount would fairly well represent the share that would fall to the lot of an esquire of his force on that occasion.

Peverel would then disband his levies and the Squire of Sheldon would return home to bury his hoard within the curtilage of his hail—the best method of safety in those days of turmoil. No one but a Sheldon could have buried it there, and sudden death was probably the cause of his secret holding its own for more than seven centuries.

William Peverel's money has only been found twice—at Nottingham and Sheldon. The bulk of the Nottingham hoard is exhibited in Peverel's Castle at Nottingham, and the Sheldon hoard in its entirety is preserved at Peverel's ancient Manor of Chatsworth.



LONDON STEREOSCOPIC CO.

TYPES OF EDWARD I.

PLATE I.

NUMISMATIC HISTORY OF THE REIGNS OF EDWARD I., II., AND III.—(*Continued.*)

BY H. B. EARLE FOX AND SHIRLEY FOX.

OPPOSITE this page will be found a plate showing the principal types of those pennies of Edward I. which bear his own name, arranged in chronological order. As it is impossible to figure all the intermediate varieties, which merge almost imperceptibly one into another, the coins have been divided into groups, each of which possesses distinct characteristics, and can be recognised without much difficulty.

- GROUP I (Nos. 1-4), 1279. Title Rex not abbreviated, except on No. 4. Mints: London only.
- GROUP II (No. 5). Earlier part of 1280. Letter N always retrograde = **N**, a peculiarity not found on any subsequent issue of Edward I. Mints: royal, London, Bristol, Canterbury, York; ecclesiastical, Durham.
- GROUP III (Nos. 6-13). About July, 1280, to the autumn of 1281, when the royal provincial mints (with the exception of Canterbury), were closed. Mints: 6, London only. 7, royal, London, Bristol, Canterbury, York; ecclesiastical, Durham. 8, royal, London, Bristol, Canterbury, Lincoln, York; ecclesiastical, Durham. 9, royal, London, Bristol, Lincoln; ecclesiastical, St. Edmund's. 10, royal, Newcastle, York; ecclesiastical, Durham, York. The dies for this type, which does not occur at southern mints, were probably made at York. 11, London, Canterbury. 12, royal, London, Bristol, Canterbury, Lincoln, York. 13, royal, London, Bristol, Canterbury, Chester, Lincoln; ecclesiastical, Durham, St. Edmund's.
- GROUP IV (Nos. 14-18). *Circ.* 1282 to 1289. No. 15 is the earliest type issued by Bishop Antony Bek, and is therefore subsequent to September, 1283. No. 18 cannot have been issued before late in 1288, as the name of Robert de Hadeleie, whose successor was appointed in Michaelmas term of that year, no longer appears on the St. Edmund's coins. Mints: most varieties, royal, London, and Canterbury; ecclesiastical, Durham and St. Edmund's.
- GROUP V (Nos. 19-20). Very large lettering, single pellet on King's breast. Mints: 19, royal, London, Canterbury; 20, royal, London, Canterbury; ecclesiastical, Durham, St. Edmund's.
- GROUP VI (Nos. 21-22). Mints: 21, royal, London; 22, royal, London; ecclesiastical, Durham, St. Edmund's.
- GROUP VII (Nos. 23-24). Rose on King's breast, double bar to the letter N. Mints: 23, London; 24, royal, London, Canterbury; ecclesiastical, Durham, St. Edmund's, which, however, omit the rose.
- GROUP VIII (Nos. 25-26). *Circ.* 1294 to 1300. Mints: royal, London; ecclesiastical, St. Edmund's. The accounts show that the Canterbury mint was inactive during this period.
- GROUP IX (Nos. 27-28). 1300. Mints: 27, royal, London, Canterbury; ecclesiastical, Durham, St. Edmund's; 28 (with or without star on breast), royal, London, Bristol, Canterbury, Chester, Exeter, Kingston-on-Hull, Newcastle, York; ecclesiastical, Durham, St. Edmund's, York. Provincial royal mints, except Canterbury and Newcastle, closed at or before the end of the year.
- GROUP X (Nos. 29-34). 1302 to 1307. Fleurs-de-lys at sides of crown show only two leaves instead of three. King's name varies between Edward and Edwa. Evidence of date will be given in the body of this history. Mints: royal, London, Canterbury, Newcastle (29 and 30 only); ecclesiastical, Durham, St. Edmund's.

EDWARD'S LONG-CROSS COINAGE.



ON November 16th, 1272, the date of his father's death, Edward I. was in Palestine. According to the constitutional usage of the period his predecessors had not been considered lawful kings until they had been crowned, and the King's Peace was held to be interrupted during the vacancy of the throne. On this occasion the long delay which would have been entailed might have endangered seriously the tranquillity of the realm, and those in authority decided upon immediate action. The barons accordingly met at Westminster and took the oath of fealty on the Feast of St. Edmund the King (November 20th, 1272). From that day, from which the beginning of his regnal years is reckoned, Edward was called king, and his Peace was proclaimed at once. (Appendix ii.)

Immediately after the Feast of St. Hilary following (January 14th, 1273), Parliament met and took the oaths, and Walter de Mertona was appointed Chancellor, to remain at Westminster until the king's return. Edward landed at Dover on August 2nd, 1274, and was crowned at Westminster on August 19th.

At the time of Edward's accession the post of Keeper of the King's Exchanges of London and Canterbury was held by Bartholomew de Castello, who is first mentioned in that capacity in July, 1266, and who retained his position until the Vigil of St. Andrew in the beginning of the seventh year of Edward I., when the king took the said office into his own hand (Appendices iii and iv). The accounts rendered by him show that the quantities of bullion coined at the London mint from the accession of Edward to that date (November 29th, 1278) were :—

		<i>Pounds Tower (omitting fractions).¹</i>
November 20th, 1272, to November 19th, 1273	...	6,544
November 20th, 1273, to June 24th, 1274	...	10,230
June 25th, 1274, to June 24th, 1275	...	7,894
June 25th, 1275, to November 30th, 1278	...	60,161
Total	...	<u>84,829</u>

The money struck under Bartholomew de Castello's administration was of the long-cross type, and, although new dies were made more than once, it continued to bear the name of Henry III. It is possible—indeed probable—that the coins of the first two years are in no way to be distinguished from the issues of that monarch, but two types of long-cross money can be attributed, the one with practical, the other with absolute, certainty to Edward I. Both may be recognised by the artist's attempt to render the king's hair in naturalistic fashion, instead of by the conventional arrangement of crescents and dots which had previously been customary. The following are known to us :—

TYPE I, Durham, moneyer **ROBERT**; (Plate II, 1), St. Edmund's, moneyer **ION**. (Plate II, 2.)

TYPE II, London, moneyers **RENAUD** and **DEGLIP** (Plate II, 3); St. Edmund's **ION** and **IONA**. Renaud's coin has **R** in **ERRICVS**.

Of Type I we have met with only the two specimens mentioned above, both of which are in the collection of Mr. L. A. Lawrence. A clue to the probable date of its issue is furnished by the Durham coin. In the earlier part of the thirteenth century the bishops were far from enjoying that highly privileged position to which they attained in the days of Antony Bek, and their coinage was apt to be intermittent. In the thirty-seventh year of Henry III.—to be precise, on June 12th, 1253—nearly five years after the initiation of the long-

¹ The pound tower, which was in use at the mint during the whole of the Plantagenet period, was equal to only 5,400 grains troy. It was divided in the same way as the pound troy, and therefore contained 5,760 grains tower.

cross coinage, Bishop Walter de Kirkham, having satisfied the king, by the exhibition of ancient dies and of money struck from them, and by the testimony of several trustworthy persons, that his predecessors had possessed the right of working a mint, was granted seisin of his dies of the Church of Durham in like manner as former bishops had been wont to have it (Appendix v). To him are attributable pennies of an early long-cross type which bear the name of the moneyer **RICARD**, but, as these show no important variations, it is evident that the right to coin money must have been allowed to lapse, or must have been withdrawn within a comparatively short time.

Between the pennies of Ricard and those of Roberd no Durham coins are forthcoming. It is most unlikely that a privilege so important as that of striking money would be granted, or even renewed, during the king's absence, and as Bishop Robert de Stichil died in France, whither he had gone to attend the Council of Lyons, on August 4th, 1274, some days before Edward's return to England, it may fairly be assumed that the concession was asked for by and granted to his successor, Robert de Insula, who received the temporalities of the see on November 11th, 1274. The Durham coins of Type I may therefore be assigned, with every semblance of probability, to the end of that year.¹

John de Burnedissee, the moneyer whose name appears on the St. Edmund's coin of this type, was appointed, and sworn in, in 1265 (Appendix vi). He also struck long-cross coins of the old type with the conventional representation of the king's hair, and of the type which is next to be described. Although direct evidence of the fact is lacking, it is probable that the privilege of the Abbot of St. Edmunds was in suspense between the death of Henry III. and the coronation of his successor.

¹ The assertion made by Ruding, under the year 1272, that Edward I. restored the privileges of the see of Durham in the first year of his reign is based upon an error. Reference to the authority quoted by him (*Rolls of Parliament*, vol. iv, p. 427) shows that the restoration in question took place in the twenty-first, not the first, year, and was to Bishop Antony Bek, who is named in the document.

The date of Type II, which shows a marked improvement on its almost barbarous predecessor, can be fixed within fairly close limits. On the Wednesday next before the Feast of St. Dunstan, in Easter term of the sixth year of King Edward I. (that is to say, on May 18th, 1278), Bartholomew de Castello presented to the barons of the Exchequer Philip de Cambio, to be moneyer in the exchange of London in place of Reginald (**RENAVD**) of Cant[erbury], formerly moneyer there, and the said Philip was duly sworn in (Appendix vii). In the same term Joceus the goldsmith, who had been appointed keeper of the die at St. Edmunds in 1276 (Appendix viii), was promoted to the higher office of moneyer—doubtless in succession to John de Burnedis— and was presented and sworn in at the Exchequer (Appendix ix). Type II, therefore, was introduced some time after the end of 1274, but before the spring of 1278, and continued to be struck until the long-cross coinage came to an end in November of the latter year.

No Canterbury coins of Type I or Type II have as yet come to light, although some small quantity was struck in that city during the early years of Edward's reign, as is shown in the table given below. The account of the Keeper of the Exchange for the first year makes no mention of the Canterbury mint.

AMOUNTS OF BULLION COINED AT CANTERBURY IN POUNDS TOWER
(Omitting Fractions).

November 20th, 1273, to June 24th, 1274	{ king's share ...	666
	{ archbishop's share ...	399
June 24th, 1274, to April 23rd, 1278	nil
April 23rd, 1278, to July 7th, 1278 ...	{ king's share ...	220
	{ archbishop's share ...	132
July 7th, 1278, to November 20th, 1278 (see vacant, the king takes all)	451
	Total ...	<u>1,868</u>

On the Thursday next after the Feast of the Nativity of St. John the Baptist, 3 Edward I. (June 27th, 1275), one Roger le

Assaur was sworn in as moneyer for Archbishop Robert de Kilwardby. Bartholomew de Castello was ordered to supply him with three dies, to be cut in his name, and he was granted the custody of the keys of the Exchange of Canterbury, which were then in the possession of one John Digge (Appendix x).¹ That no coins of Roger are known is scarcely surprising, since the archbishop's share during his tenure of office cannot have exceeded 132 pounds.

The 399 pounds representing the archbishop's share of the coinage between November 20th, 1273, and June 24th, 1274, must have been struck from dies engraved in the reign of Henry III. Although Archbishop Robert de Kilwardby received the temporalities of the see on December 14th, 1272, a most interesting postscript to the entry of the presentation of the moneyer Roger shows that he had been defrauded of his rights until the time of that event. Freely rendered it is as follows :—

“ This same John [Digge] returned to the said Archbishop on the Friday following one of the aforesaid three dies, which he held by the concession of King Henry by charter, which charter was challenged by the Archbishop as being against the liberties of the Church of Canterbury, and was handed over with the die. And in the matter of the trespass which he had committed, by retaining the other two dies [which he had] by conveyance of Master Richard de Clifford at the time when the Archbishopric was vacant and in the keeping of the said Master Richard, and thenceforward until now, the said John submitted himself wholly to the ordering and good pleasure of the said Archbishop.”

It would appear from this that John Digge had not only received one of the archbishop's dies by charter from King Henry III., presumably after the death of Archbishop Boniface of Savoy on July 18th, 1270, but that, under cover of this concession, he had contrived to obtain possession of the other two dies from the receiver of the temporalities appointed during the vacancy of the see, and had

¹ The theory put forward in the introductory chapter that only the irons were provided by the hereditary engraver, and that the actual dies were made in the mint, receives strong confirmation from the fact that the order for Roger's dies was addressed to Bartholomew de Castello, Keeper of the King's Exchange, and not to a member of the FitzOtho family. This is not an isolated instance, for similar cases occur later.

continued to make use of them after the consecration of the new archbishop. His profits cannot have been very large, for the mint was inactive during the last years of Henry III., and apparently during the first year of Edward I., and he no doubt had to pay dearly for his "trespass." Although he is merely described as a "citizen of Canterbury," he must have been a moneyer, possibly the **ION** whose name appears on a very late type of long-cross coins which still shows the conventional hair represented by crescents and dots.

The rarity of the "Henricus" types of Edward I. is sufficiently explained by the complete demonetisation of the long-cross coinage in August, 1280, and the subsequent melting up and recoinage of some half-million pounds of it. The latest varieties had but little time in which to find their way into hoards. The fact that Philip's coins are, comparatively speaking, abundant, suggests that the greater portion of 60,000 pounds of bullion minted after June 24th, 1275, must have been coined subsequently to his appointment.

PREPARATIONS FOR REFORM.

In the summer of 1278 the depreciated state of the coinage, which was much clipped and worn, began to demand attention, and in consequence of statutes passed by the Parliament held at Gloucester in July and August a great inquiry was held on the clipping of coin by the Jews. As a result of it the real or alleged offenders were arrested all over the country in the month of November, and great numbers of them were hanged (Appendices xi and xii).

The pursuit and trial of the unfortunate Jews, which continued through the winter, afforded their Christian neighbours ample opportunity for levying blackmail. Indeed, the practice was carried to such an extent that the king found it necessary to intervene for their protection and, by writ addressed to Stephen de Penecastro, justice for hearing and determining pleas of offences in connection with the coinage, and other judges, gave orders, on May 7th, 1279, that no fresh accusations against them were to be entertained.¹

¹ Patent Roll, 7 Edward I.

Meanwhile preparations for a recoinage on a large scale were being made, and Gregory de Rokesley and Orlandinus de Podio were appointed Keepers of the King's Exchange, in virtue of which office they had complete control of the mints of London and Canterbury. The account which they subsequently rendered to the Exchequer opens on the Friday before the Feast of St. Philip and St. James (April 28th, 1279), but they were not sworn in until May 17th, when the dies for the new coinage were delivered to them (Appendix xiii). Some of their subordinates took the oath at the same time, but it was not until July 6th that three men were presented by them to be sworn as keepers of the dies (Appendix xiv). As one of the most important duties of the last-named officials was to sit beside the workmen and supervise the process of striking (Appendices xv and xvi), it is probable that the date of their entry upon their functions is approximately that of the beginning of actual coining operations, although, as will be seen below, the first exchange of the new money did not take place until a month later.

Pending the issue of the new money, the king gave stringent orders that falsified or clipped coin should no longer be current, and on June 4th he sent to ten cities, from his private treasury, whole and unclipped coin of the old (*i.e.*, long-cross) type, which was to be exchanged for clipped until the new money should be ready (Appendix xvii). The first exchange of the new money took place on August 4th, but the old long-cross money was allowed to remain current for a year, after which its circulation was forbidden (Appendices xviii and xix). The calling in of the clipped coin, which involved a loss by the holder of sixteen pence in the pound (Appendix xix), caused much suffering, the more so as it unfortunately coincided with the worst harvest that had been known for a long time (Appendix xx). The demonetisation of the long-cross coin, too, must have been distinctly unpopular, for more than thirty years had passed without any change in the currency.¹

¹ The long-cross issue superseded the short-cross issue in 1247-8.

THE NEW MONEY.

Two important innovations which marked the new coinage are briefly referred to by John of Oxnesdes and the Continuator of Florence of Worcester, who write :—

“A change was made in the money of England. The triangular farthing was made round. The old money, if in reasonable state, was not as yet forbidden to circulate with the new, but, in addition to what was customary, halfpence having been entirely stopped, a big penny was made, equal to four ordinary pennies.” (Appendix xxi.)

Hitherto small change had been provided by cutting the penny into halves and quarters, which passed current as halfpence and farthings. Mr. Andrew, in his history of the reign of Henry I.,¹ has shown that this operation was performed at the mint before the coin was put into circulation, but it is possible that pennies were at times cut illegally by private individuals. Whether done officially or privately the practice opened wide the door to fraud and abuse. Edward therefore forbade it, and ordered the issue of round farthings, to which, a year later, round halfpence were added. That farthings were made first is doubtless due to the fact that they would serve a double purpose, since two of them could be used in the place of a halfpenny.

The second innovation was the creation of the *grossus sterlingus*, a fourpenny piece, commonly known as the groat.

The substitution of round coins (*quadrantes integri*) for the old cut halfpence and farthings made a deep impression, and this was doubtless not a little enhanced by an obscure prophecy, attributed to Merlin, “Findetur forma commercii; dimidium rotundum erit,” to which reference is made by nearly all the contemporary chroniclers. The well-informed compiler of the *Dunstable Annals* (Appendix xvii), the Continuator of Florence of Worcester, and John of Oxnesdes (Appendix xxi) state correctly that only the farthing was made round at first. The two last named add that the issue of halfpence,

¹ *Numismatic Chronicle*, Fourth Series, vol. i, pp. 10, 54-5, 78 and 492.

that is, of cut halves of the penny to be used as halfpence, was entirely stopped. Less accurate writers fall into the not unnatural mistake of asserting that halfpence and farthings were made round at the same time (Appendices xxii–xxiv).

The issue of the groat attracted less attention, although so large a coin had not been struck before, doubtless because it would rarely, if ever, be seen by the people at large. Coined in comparatively small numbers and for a few years only, it would seldom be found outside the great commercial centres, and would not come in the way of the provincial monks who recorded the history of the times.

A memorandum preserved in the *Red Book of the Exchequer* gives very full details concerning the new coinage (Appendix xxv). It is unfortunately not dated, but internal evidence shows that it was drawn up before May, 1279, possibly immediately after the Parliament of Gloucester, as the note appended to the names of the master moneyers states that they are to find sureties before the Michaelmas next following.

WEIGHT AND STANDARD.

In the first place it is ordered that a standard be made and kept in the Exchequer, and that it be marked with the imprint of the old (*i.e.*, long-cross) die and of the new. This standard was a piece of silver of certified fineness to be used for comparison in testing that of the coins. When the long-cross coinage was initiated in 1247–8, two standards (or assays, as they are called in the document) were ordered to be made, each of the weight of ten shillings, and placed under seal in the treasury. One was to be of pure silver, and the other of silver of the fineness of which the coin was to be struck, and these were to be marked with a certain stamp. Similar assays, but weighing only forty pence each, were ordered to be supplied to the mints of London and Canterbury and to the provincial mints (Appendix xxvi).

To return to 1279. The pound tower is to be made into 243 pence, and not more than six strong and six weak pennies, that is, coins exceeding or falling short of the normal weight by a grain and

a half, are to be tolerated. The penny, therefore, should weigh 23·7 grains tower (22·2 troy), and Hawkins was in error when he assumed that only 240 pence were coined from the pound in the earlier part of Edward's reign, and stated that the change to 243 was made in 1300.

The fineness of the groat is to be in accordance with this standard.

Farthings are to be made round, are to be struck in London only, and are to be called *Lundreis*. Four of them are to contain as much fine silver as a penny, bating an allowance for the increased cost of making such minute coin; but, as they would be inconveniently small if made of sterling silver, it is provided that the proportion of alloy shall be increased, and that only 812 of them shall be made out of the pound tower. This gives a theoretical weight of 7·09 grains tower, or 6·65 grains troy, which exactly accords with the average weight of existing specimens.¹ A special standard is to be made, and marked with the farthing die, and it is to be preserved with that of the sterlings.

It should be noted that the absence of any mention of halfpence in this memorandum confirms the assertion of the chroniclers that these formed no part of the coinage of 1279, but were introduced a year later, a statement which is further borne out by the evidence of the coins themselves. To the memorandum, which is in Norman-French, is appended, in Latin, a list of the principal officers of the Exchange of London, as follows:—

Keeper of the Exchange: Gregory de Rokesley and Orlandinus de Podio, who are also Keepers of the Mint, and are answerable to the King.

Master Moneyers: Master Hubert Alion de Aste, Master William de Turnemire, and Peter his brother, of Marseilles, who are to answer faithfully for the money on pain of life and limb, and are to find sureties before the ensuing Michaelmas.

Assayer: Boniface Galgani, of Florence.

Clerk of the Exchange: John de Haydenstane.

¹ Had the farthings been of the same fineness and proportionate weight as the penny there would have been 972 to the pound tower, and their normal weight would have been 5·5 grains troy.

Against the names of the three master moneyers and that of the assayer is written, in another hand, "Sworn in."

The Keepers of the Exchange were very high and important personages, and their functions covered a wide range. As Keepers of the Mint they were responsible to the king for the weight and purity of the coin, and if they were not technically competent it was their duty to provide efficient substitutes. They were also answerable, directly or through a subordinate, for the safe-keeping of the dies, which they were to guard diligently as being, so to speak, the royal seal (Appendix xxvii).

The master moneyers were responsible for the purchase and alloying of the silver used for the coinage, and had entire control of the moneyers and other workmen employed in the mint (Appendix xxviii).

Entries in the Patent Rolls of 1279 show that William and Peter de Turnemire received £100 yearly as a fee for their expenses in the king's service, and that Master Hubert Alion was granted £200 yearly for his maintenance so long as he remained in the office of moneyer. These were important sums in the thirteenth century, and were, of course, in addition to the payments made on the amounts coined.

The coinage of 1279 was issued from the London mint only. Although a writ dated June 21st, 1279 (Appendix xxix), orders the authorities of the Canterbury mint to give the Archbishop that share of the profits to which he was entitled, a letter from Archbishop Peckham to Stephen de Penecestro, the Justice already mentioned in connection with the proceedings against the Jews, shows that the mint premises were under seal on August 18th, a fortnight after the new money had been put into circulation, and that the delegates of the Keepers of the Exchange did not dare enter them until the seals had been removed by the proper authority. The mint had presumably been closed when Bartholomew de Castello yielded up his office to the king in November, 1278, and the new Keepers of the Exchange were doubtless too busy in London to wish to reopen it at once. The Archbishop complains bitterly of the loss of his profits, and begs

Penecester to come to Canterbury immediately (Appendix xxx). The result of his appeal is not recorded, but the earliest Canterbury coins bearing the name of Edward are those struck in January, 1280, under an agreement with Master William de Turnemire, of which more later.

The writs ordering dies to be prepared for the Bishop of Durham (Appendix xxxi) and the Abbot of St. Edmund's (Appendix xxxii) are dated November 2nd and November 8th respectively. At Durham, as at Canterbury, the earliest Edward coins known are of the type of January, 1280. At St. Edmund's, although Robert de Hadeleie was sworn in as the Abbot's moneyer in Michaelmas term, 1279, no coin was struck before late in June, 1280, for reasons which will appear in due course.

The account rendered by the Keepers of the Exchange is divided into two parts, the first running from April 28th until November 20th (the end of the regnal year), and the second from that date until the opening of William de Turnemire's contract (January 2nd, 1280). Unfortunately the amounts for the various denominations are not given separately, but the total amount of bullion coined was—

Before November 20th	...	93,332	pounds tower.
After	" "	14,532	" "
Total		<u>107,864</u>	" "

Having put his new money into circulation, the king took measures for its protection, and the following, though not dated, was clearly drawn up at this time :—

Memorandum that it be proclaimed throughout the whole realm that there be no clipping of the new money on peril of life and limb and forfeiture of all lands and tenements and all goods and chattels by whomsoever shall have been convicted thereof by judgment of the Lord King's Court. And the King will forbid any clipping of the said money under the aforesaid penalties. And the King will likewise forbid that anyone receive the said money being clipped under the aforesaid penalties. (Appendix xxxiii.)

The "new money," then, was struck in London only, and

consisted of groats and pennies of sterling silver, weighing at the rate of 22·2 grains troy to the penny, and of farthings, of somewhat baser metal, weighing 6·65 grains troy each. These last supply the key to its identification, for, as will appear in due course, halfpence and farthings were subsequently ordered to be made of the same standard of silver and proportionate weight as the larger coin.

It follows, therefore, that farthings of a type which is found habitually to exceed the weight of 5·55 grains troy, or one quarter of the weight of the penny, can be assigned only to the year 1279 or to a limited period immediately following it. Lack of halfpennies of corresponding type narrows down the possible period of issue to the twelve and a-half months between August 4th, 1279, and August 15th, 1280, when halfpence were first issued; absence of specimens struck at provincial mints further restricts it to the year 1279.

All these conditions are fulfilled by the farthings figured on Plate II, Nos. 12-14. They read:—

Obverse.—**EDWARDVS : REX.**

Reverse.—**LON DON IEN SIS**, or more rarely, **LON DRI EN SIS**, and are of two distinct types, corresponding with two of the types of the penny described below. The forms **N** and **■** appear to have been used indifferently on the Londoniensis coins.

They weigh 6 grains troy and upwards, no halfpennies resembling them are known, and they occur only of the London mint. Further, the reading “Londriensis,” found on one variety, identifies them with the Lundreis of the memorandum, though this bastard form was soon dropped, for the coins bearing it are very rare.

In view of the great importance of the question of weight, it is necessary to reiterate a warning, which has been given over and over again, as to the danger of drawing conclusions from an isolated phenomenon, such as a single specimen exceeding or falling short of the legal weight to a notable extent. Such specimens are to be found in every coinage of mediæval times, and their existence is sufficiently explained by the Exchequer memorandum quoted above (Appendix xxv). So long as the moneyer converted the pound tower of silver

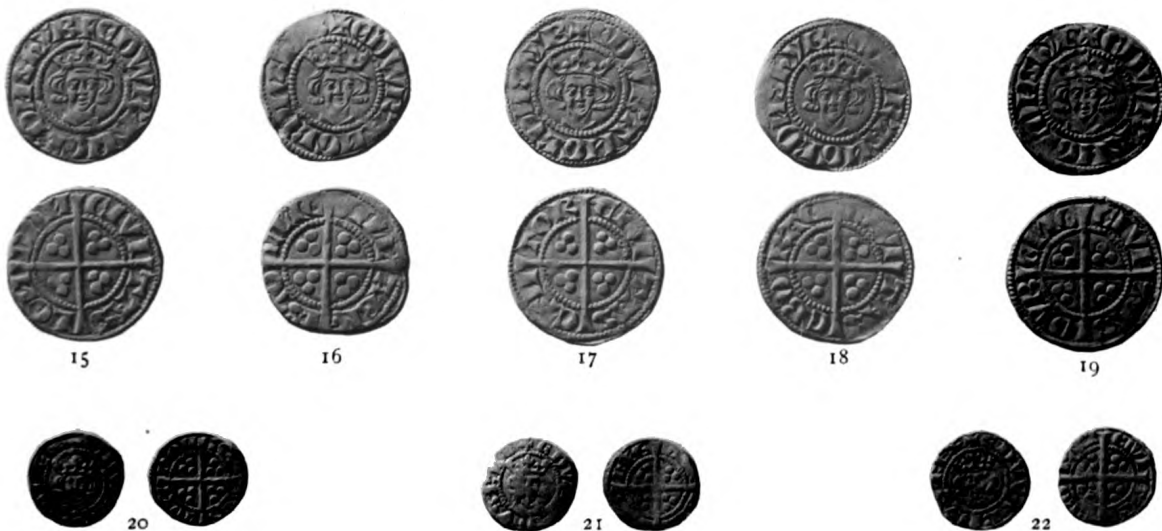
LONG CROSS COINS OF EDWARD I.



GROUP I. (1279)



GROUP II. (Jan. 1280)



LONDON STEREOGRAPHIC CO.

COINS OF EDWARD I., 1272-1280.

PLATE II.

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into the proper number of pennies he was allowed considerable latitude in the weight of individual coins—in fact, his work was not condemned so long as there were not more than six strong pennies and six weak (that is, pennies departing from the normal weight by a grain and a-half tower). In the case of the farthings the permitted variation was five strong and five weak coins to the ounce.

When, however, a type shows consistently a certain weight, based on the average of a fair number of specimens, that weight may be taken as conclusive.

GROUP I.

The resemblance between the farthings and the pence figured on Plate II, under Group I (Nos. 4–9) is so striking that it is impossible to question their being part of one and the same issue; and the pence, like the smaller pieces, fulfil all the requirements of the historical evidence. They read as follows :—

a. **EDWREXANGL'DNSRYB'**

b. **EDREX : ANGLIEDNSRIBN**

c. **EDW : REX : ANGL : DNS : RYB** (with variations in the stops).

d. **EDWR'ANGL'DNSRYB**

Reverse.—In all cases **CIVI TAS LON DON.**

Type *a* has no hair on the king's forehead, and *b* is without drapery at the neck. On *c* and *d* the forms **Ꝣ** and **Ꝥ** are used indifferently, often in the same die. These four types or varieties are found of the London mint only. Types *c* and *d* are very abundant; *a* is quite scarce, and of *b* but two or three specimens are known. The true date of these pence being sufficiently proved by their identity in style with farthings which have been shown to have been issued in 1279, it is unnecessary to answer in detail the arguments which certain previous writers have put forward in favour of an attribution to the early years of Edward III. It is perhaps well, however, to make assurance doubly sure by insistence upon a few capital points. In the first place there is the material evidence of the irons used in making the

dies. Some of these served again for the coinage issued under the indenture made with Master William de Turnemire and begun on June 2nd, 1280, a coinage which can be identified beyond doubt, and it will be seen, when the history of the year 1280 is reached, that the *utensilia* existing at the mint were ordered to be handed over to him. Then the accounts of the Keepers of the Exchange of London show that the issue of 22·2 grain pennies in the reign of Edward III. amounted to but a few hundred pounds, a quantity entirely out of proportion to the mass of these pence which has come down to us. Moreover, there is nowhere any gap in the sequence of types between 1279 and 1344, in which latter year the weight of the penny was reduced from 22·2 to 20·2 grains troy. Neither is there any other year in which a large issue confined to the London mint could be explained. The evidence of hoards, too, is altogether against the attribution of these coins to Edward III. They occurred in the Northampton hoard, which did not even contain late types of Edward I., and, common though they are, they are found in very small numbers in hoards deposited in the latter half of the fourteenth century, although the comparatively scarce issue of 1344 is usually well represented in these.

Turning to the coins themselves, we find many points of relationship with the long-cross coinage, such as the low, flat crown, the absence of a fringe of hair on the King's forehead in Type *a*, the absence of drapery at the neck on Type *b*, the spelling out of **REX** in full on Types *a*, *b*, and *c*, and the frequent use on Type *c* of : or . as a mark of contraction, or separation. The Lombardic **ɾ** on Type *a* connects it with the Edwardian long-cross coins, on some of which that letter occurs, and differs widely in form from that used in the early years of Edward III., until which period it does not reappear. The reversed **ɱ**, on the other hand, is a link with the coins of January, 1280, on which no other form is found.

It is somewhat surprising that four distinct types should have been struck within a period of at most seven months and a-half (May 17th to December 31st). The rare varieties *a* and *b* may have been quickly superseded, but it is difficult to resist the conclusion that Types *c* and *d* were issued concurrently. The Exchequer memo-

randum gives the names of three master moneyers. Hitherto the name of the moneyer had always appeared on the coin for which he was answerable, but this system had now been abandoned for the first time, and it may well have been sought to gain the same end by the use of varying types. This view is supported by the fact that no mule between Types *c* and *d* is known, a circumstance which almost, if not quite, unparalleled in the case of successive issues, points to the exercise of special care to keep the two sets of dies apart.

Type *a*, which in certain peculiarities, notably the absence of hair on the king's forehead and the use of the Lombardic **ꝛ**, is most closely allied to the long-cross coins, and is probably the earliest of the four types, is found with its own reverse (though **ꝛ** is substituted for **ꝛ**), but it is quite as often muled with a reverse having the smaller and neater lettering of Types *b* and *c* (Plate II, 10). The reverse of Type *a*, which is distinguishable by the slightly larger and rougher lettering and the form of **ꝛ**, is also found associated with the obverse of Type *c* (Plate II, 11). It may therefore be concluded that it preceded Type *c*, and that the dies, though made by a different engraver, were used by the same moneyer.

Here, perhaps, history comes to our aid. The dies for the new money were delivered to Gregory de Rokesley and Orlandinus de Podio on the day on which they took the oaths, that is to say, on May 17th. On July 6th Hugh FitzOtho, guardian of the infant daughter and heiress of Thomas FitzOtho, the hereditary engraver of the dies, presented Stephen de Mundene, citizen of London, to perform those functions in place of the said heiress, and he was duly sworn in before the Barons of the Exchequer (Appendix xxxiv). This points to a change in the *personnel* of the engraving department within less than two months from the initiation of the coinage, and thereby explains the rarity of Type *a*.

Type *b*, which is even rarer, is apparently the first effort of the artist who designed *c* and *d*, which are undoubtedly from one hand, and which it closely resembles in style and lettering. It has several unsatisfactory features, and the form of inscription chosen was by no means happy; the king's name was reduced to the two letters

ED, which might have stood equally well for Edmund or Edgar, and even then the legend is overcrowded. Evidently it was not approved, and gave place almost at once to the earlier varieties of Type *c*.

It may be objected that this theory leaves only two types for three moneys, since *a*, *b*, and *c* are to be attributed to the same; but it is quite possible that one moneyer was wholly occupied with the issue of groats, and arguments in support of this contention will be given hereafter, when the larger coin is described.

As regards the farthings: those corresponding with Type *a* (Plate II, 12) are easily recognisable, but it is difficult, if not impossible, to discriminate satisfactorily between those belonging to *c* and *d* (Plate II, 13 and 14).

To return to the pennies; these are found only of the London mint, and the absence of Canterbury or ecclesiastical specimens is sufficiently explained by contemporary documents. It is true that the late Mr. Burns, in his account of the Montrave hoard, mentions a single Canterbury coin with the obverse of *d*, but this must be, as he suggests, a mule struck in 1280 with a die which had accidentally survived and had been sent to Canterbury.¹

A very rare variety of Type *d* has an annulet on the king's breast (Plate II, 9). Mr. Andrew has shown, in his great work on Henry I., that the coins struck in London for the Abbot of Reading were distinguished by this mark. May not the significance be the same in this case? The annulet occurs nowhere else, either as stop or ornament on the coins of Edward I., and the iron with which it was put into the die must therefore have been prepared with deliberate purpose. The fact that the abbey was in financial difficulties from 1275 for some years onward, and that the King took an active interest in its affairs, if, indeed, he did not actually control the temporalities,² might account for the issue of Reading coins at a time when other ecclesiastical mints were still awaiting Edward's renewal of their privilege.

¹ We have obtained, too late for inclusion in the plate, a mule of similar character of the York mint. This, and other coins which we have been unable to illustrate, will be included in a supplementary plate.

² See Patent Rolls, 4 and 5 Edward I.

The groats of Edward I. are, of course, the well-known coins which have so long been absurdly misdescribed as patterns. The pattern theory seems to be based on the existence of an example of abnormally heavy weight mentioned by Hawkins, the present whereabouts of which is, we believe, not known. Of a score or so of specimens which we have been able to note, the extremes are 86 and 71 grains, and only two, both in very poor state, fall below 80 grains. As the lawful weight would be 88·8 grains, this variation is no greater than would be found in a score of specimens of any series of groats taken at hazard, though there is a tendency, perhaps not altogether accidental, to fall below the standard. The absurdity of the pattern theory is further shown by the facts that there are no fewer than seven distinct classes of these groats, and that even in the same class it is usual to find several different dies.

The issue of groats lasted for some years, and to arrange the various types in chronological order and associate them with the pence has proved a matter of difficulty. The earliest characteristics are shown by the following, which is therefore ascribed to 1279.

Obverse.—✠ **EDWARDVS** ; **D'I** ; **GRA'** ; **REX** ; **ARGL'** ; Within a dotted circle a quatrefoil compartment, formed of double lines, the inner of which is dotted and the outer solid, enclosing a crowned bust of the King, wearing the royal mantle, the top of which is indicated by two wedge-shaped pieces ; on either side of the head is a pierced flower of five petals, and under the bust are three pellets arranged in trefoil ; in each spandrel of the quatrefoil is a trefoil-shaped ornament formed of three crescents, horns inward, surrounding a central pellet.

Reverse.—Outer circle : **DN'S RBR' EDVX AQVT'** Inner circle : **MON DON IAC IVI** ; long cross with foliated ends, cutting the legends, in each angle of which are three pellets arranged in trefoil. The **N** in **DNS** is always of Roman form, with a dot on the crossbar. The letter **X** is usually of a peculiar form (see Plate), but is also found of the shape which occurs on the obverse (Plate V, 1).

After having come definitely to this conclusion, we made a discovery which tends to confirm it, and which is, on other grounds, of

Now Master Peter de Turnemire, brother of Master William and one of the three master moneyers who took the oaths in London in connection with the coinage of 1279, was, in August, 1280, the king's master moneyer at York,¹ and, as will be shown hereafter, there is reason to believe that the dies for the pennies above referred to were supplied, not from London, but from the royal mint at York. In fact, the order for dies for the Archbishop of York, dated August 18th, 1280, is addressed, not to the Keepers of the Exchange of London, but to the Keepers of the Exchange of York (Appendix xI). We have failed, so far, to ascertain the exact date of Peter's new appointment, but the pennies with the dotted N were certainly struck while he was in the north, and it is, to say the least, a remarkable coincidence that this peculiar letter should be found only when and where he was master moneyer. Whether the mark was personal to him, and in a sense took the place of the now suppressed moneyer's name, or whether, as seems more probable, it was the whim of a die-sinker who had worked under him in London and subsequently accompanied him to York, remains a matter of conjecture, but its association with him seems to be beyond dispute. It must be remarked that the dot would be put in by the actual die-sinker, not by FitzOtho's engraver of irons, for the N is formed by two blows of a downstroke, connected by a thin bar on which the dot has been stamped. That Master Peter would have his own workmen with him on his transference

¹ See p. 120.

is highly likely, in view of the relations between master moneyers and their subordinates.

GROUP II. (JANUARY, 1280.)

On December 8th, 1279, an agreement was made with William de Turnemire, of Marseilles, one of the master moneyers named in the Exchequer Memorandum, appointing him master moneyer throughout England from the first of January next ensuing (Appendix xxxv). Two copies of this instrument have been preserved, one, apparently of the original draft, in the Red Book of the Exchequer, and the other, which contains important modifications with regard to the remuneration to be paid to Master William, in the Pipe Rolls. A doubtful reading, which will be discussed in due course, points to the conclusion that the same original was before the scribe in each case, but that it had been amended in certain particulars before the Pipe Roll copy was made.

The indenture sets forth that Master William shall be master moneyer throughout England—this, of course, only in so far as the royal mints are concerned, for he would have no jurisdiction over those of Durham and St. Edmund's—and shall strike money, at present, in four places, namely, London, where he shall have as many furnaces as possible; Canterbury, where he shall have and maintain eight furnaces, with the Archbishop's three, and Bristol and York with twelve furnaces apiece. He is to have a master moneyer under him at each of the provincial cities, and is to bear all the expenses of the mints and deliver the coins in a state fit for circulation. In consideration of this the King is to allow him 7*d.* for every pound of the old money recoined by him, and 5½*d.* for every pound of foreign silver coined. The King is to provide suitable premises for the four mints and to satisfy the claims of the FitzOtho family (the hereditary engravers). All *utensilia* existing in the London mint are to be handed over to Turnemire, but he is to return them in good condition at the end of the year, or on giving up his office.

The indenture next makes provision for the coining of the groat "throughout England," and it is noteworthy that it is spoken of in the present tense as a coin already existing, not in the future, as it was in the memorandum of 1278-9. It is to be coined on the same conditions as the pennies.

Master William is also to make farthings "which are now round and are called Lundrenses"—note the use of the present tense again. In 1279 it was expressly stated that these were to be coined in London only, but they are now to be made throughout England. The indenture reads: "and be it known that each pound (*i.e.*, pound tower) shall contain fourscore and three dozen over by tale, and there shall be put in the same more alloy than there is in sterlings because of the great expense of making the said small money."

As 116 farthings cannot make a pound, it is obvious that the scribe must have blundered in some way. At this period numbers were often given in hundreds, fourscores and units, and the only way in which sense can be made of the passage is by assuming that the copyist accidentally omitted "viijc." Inserting this we have seven hundred and fourscore farthings and three dozen over (or 816) to the pound, and this differs by four farthings only from the number fixed by the memorandum of 1278-9, namely, sixty-five dozen and eight pence, or 812.

Finally, it is provided that Master William shall begin work on the morrow of the Circumcision in the aforesaid year (of the King's reign), that is to say, on January 2nd, 1280.

This indenture is a further confirmation of the statements of the Dunstaple annalist, John of Oxnedes, and Florence of Worcester's continuator, who tell us that round halfpence were not issued until August, 1280, for, although it distinctly specifies pence, groats and farthings, halfpence are nowhere mentioned. An examination of the Keepers' accounts further establishes this point.

In dealing with this and subsequent groups, it will be convenient to base the classification on the penny, which formed the staple of the coinage, and was issued in much larger amounts and with greater regularity than were the other denominations.

The penny of January, 1280—one of the best defined types of Edward I.—is found of the four royal mints named in the indenture, that is to say, London, Canterbury, Bristol, and York, and also of the ecclesiastical mint of Durham, the bishop of that See having been authorised to have his dies on November 2nd, 1279 (Plate I, 5; Plate II, 15–19). It is not found at St. Edmund's, for, although the grant of a die was made to the Abbot on November 8th, 1279, circumstances which will be explained in due course, caused a delay of several months in the opening of the mint there. Characteristic features of these pennies are a narrow face and a rather long neck, in the fork of which the chin rests. The lettering is practically identical with that of group *Id*, except that the letter N is invariably retrograde, whereas in the case of *Id* **N** and **N** were used indifferently. Abbreviations are indicated, as in Group I, by a wedge-shaped mark. The King's crown is made with a new iron, but the hair is often stamped with the irons of the preceding group—a proof that the *utensilia* had been duly handed over to Turnemire.

No provincial groats are known of this or of any subsequent issue, and it is probable that the clause ordering them to be struck was never put into effect. The London groat which we assign to this group (Plate V, 2), is practically identical with that of Group I, except that the quatrefoil enclosing the bust is formed of three lines, one solid between two dotted, instead of two lines only, and that there is a dot on either side of the king's bust. The only specimen known to us has a reverse from a die of Group I.

Farthings are found of London, Bristol and York (Plate II, 20–22). Those of London, which still read **LONDONIENSIS** on the reverse, are easily recognised by the invariable use of **N**. This letter does not occur in the inscriptions of those struck at Bristol and York, but the absolute identity of style makes them easily recognisable. Another test is the small, compact, initial cross. That the minor denominations were not minted at Canterbury during the reign of Edward I. is shown, not only by the negative evidence that the coins are not forthcoming, but also by frequent entries in the accounts of expenditure incurred in sending farthings—later, halfpence and farthings—to that

city. The fact that the Archbishop had a share in the profits may be the explanation of this seeming anomaly, as no ecclesiastical mint was allowed to coin other denominations than the penny at this time.

It is not possible to determine with precision the exact date at which the very characteristic type of Group II was superseded by a slightly different design, but it must have been before the beginning of August when, according to the chroniclers, the first issue of round halfpence took place, as these little coins clearly belong to Group III. The accounts rendered by the Keepers of the Exchange from January 1st to May 19th make no mention of halfpence, but give the following amounts coined in London :—

	<i>Pounds Tower.</i>
Sterlings (which must include groats)	46260
Farthings 	5060

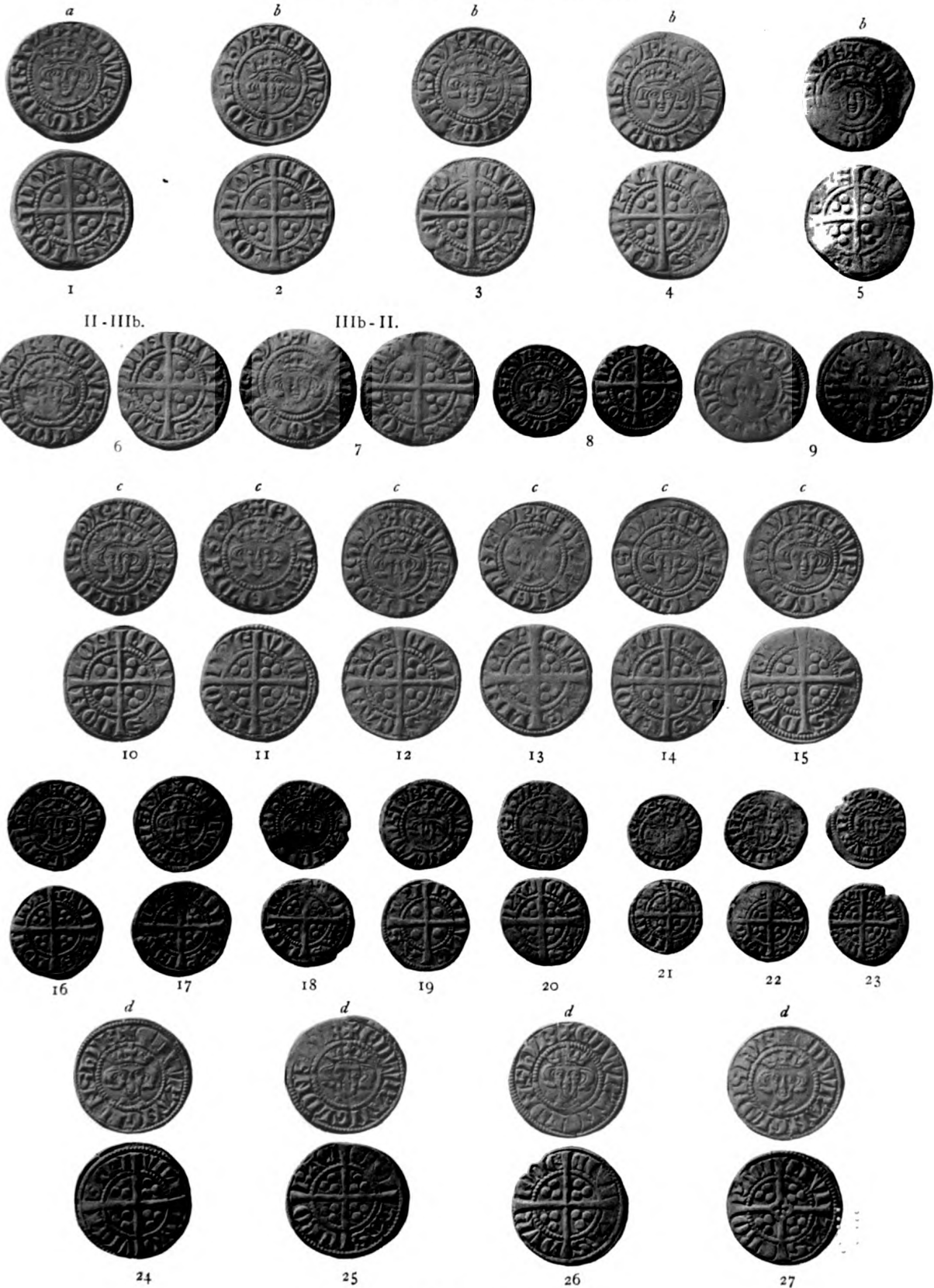
all of which may be presumed to be coins of Group II.

GROUP III (*circa* July, 1280, to *circa* December, 1281).

An enormous output was needed to replace the long cross coinage, which was finally demonetised in August, 1280, and new irons must have been engraved and new dies have been sunk almost daily. As a consequence dies are frequently made with a mixture of earlier and later irons, and a gradual evolution takes place, scarcely noticeable from day to day, but eventually modifying to no small extent the appearance of the coin. Certain distinctive types can be classed and dated with a fair approach to accuracy, but transitional specimens are numerous and, though any given coin can be placed with certainty in its proper group, many will be found which do not resemble exactly any of those figured in the plates.

It will be convenient to put together in Group III all those types and sub-types which can be proved to have been struck between the summer of 1280, when Group II ceased to be issued, and Michaelmas, 1281, which is the probable date of the closing of the minor royal mints in the provinces. III*a*, the earliest variety of the group

GROUP III (circ. July 1280 to circ. Dec. 1281).



COINS OF EDWARD I., 1280—1282.

LONDON STEREOSCOPIC CO.

PLATE III.

CCCCC
CCCCC
CCCCC
CCCCC
CCCCC

(Plate I, 6 ; Plate III, 1) is peculiar to the London mint, and is easily recognised by the shape of the drapery round the King's neck, which has the form of a broken ellipse. It is found muled with Group II, but we have not been able to procure a specimen for illustration, though such was found in the Dumfries hoard. The form **h** disappears and there is a marked change in the form of the letter **A**. Another peculiarity in which it differs from II, but resembles its immediate successor, is in having round pearls instead of spear-head shaped ornaments between the fleurs-de-lys of the crown. The wedge-shaped contraction mark of Groups I and II gives way in Group III to varying crescent-shaped forms, some of which are truncated. The groat figured as No. 3 on Plate V is connected with this penny by the forms of the drapery and of the crown. Owing to remains of solder (the coin having been formerly mounted) it is not possible to say whether there is any, and if so what, ornament on or below the bust. It has : instead of ; between the words on the obverse. The reverse differs from that of I in having the correct spelling **RIBN'E**, but retains the dot on the crossbar of the **N**.

Type III*b* differs from III*a* in the form of the drapery, which is now a mere semicircle, but retains the pearled crown. It occurs of London, Bristol,¹ Canterbury and York, besides the episcopal mint of Durham, and, like III*a*, is found muled both ways with II (Plate III, 1-7). The earliest halfpenny known (Plate III, 8) is of this general type, but has spear heads instead of pearls in the crown. It is found of London only.

It now becomes necessary to show why the Abbot of St. Edmund's, whose writ for dies was dated in November, 1279 (Appendix xxxii), and who had sworn in Robert de Hadeleie as his moneyer immediately after its issue (Appendix xxxvi), did not begin to strike money until the end of the ensuing June. The cause of delay was a dispute between the abbot and the king, and the history of the trouble, which is recorded in Abbot Kempe's register (Appendix xxxvii), may be stated briefly as follows :—

¹ The Bristol coin was obtained too late for illustration. It will be included in a supplementary plate.

When the money was changed, in the seventh year of Edward I., a die—that is to say, one standard with two trussels—was granted to St. Edmund's, but the Abbot thereupon asked the King for a "standard" of the money and an "assay," or test piece of silver,¹ also for information as to the number of pence to be made out of the pound. No precedent for this could be found—a strange thing, since St. Edmund's is named as one of the mints to which an assay was ordered to be forwarded at the time of the introduction of the long cross coinage—and the matter was consequently put off until the following (regnal) year when, after long discussion by the King's council, it was decided that no standard should be given to the Abbot, but that he should be told, by word of mouth, the necessary details, and ordered to make his money accordingly. The particulars were duly supplied by Gregory de Rokesley, but not until the vigil of Pentecost (June 8th, 1280), and the monk who has recorded them remarks, as if in surprise, that no mention is made of the farthing or the groat, coins which were issued by the royal mints only. This, by the way, affords further evidence that the halfpenny, which he does not mention, was not yet in circulation. The entry concludes with a statement that it was in the year of Our Lord, 1280, which was the eighth year of the reign of King Edward, and on the feast of St. John and St. Paul (June 26th) that we first struck money at St. Edmund's.

There are several very remarkable things in connection with the initiation of the Edwardian coinage at St. Edmund's. In the first place the coins, unlike all others of this period, do not bear the name of the mint, but only that of the moneyer, Robert de Hadeleie, although the use of the moneyer's name had been suppressed everywhere else. Secondly, what is certainly the earliest issue (Plate III, 9) is struck from a very peculiar die, evidently of local manufacture, for the irons with which it was made differ wholly from the official pattern. The use of a Lombardic **ɹ** and the spelling **RIB** instead of **RVB** suggest that the die sinker took for his model a specimen of the groat, which, as has been mentioned above, was not unknown to the monks.

¹ See p. 100.

That something irregular had been done at the abbot's mint is proved by a commission to J. de Lovetot and G. de Rokesle, in July, 1283, to enquire who were the moneyers who had made the King's money in the town of St. Edmund's and had falsified the die delivered there by the king; to examine the money coined* by the said moneyers and also the dies in their possession, and to seize the latter if they were not satisfactory (*idonei*); in fact, to make a thorough investigation (Appendix xxxviii).

It is impossible to dissociate this inquisition from : (1) the use of the moneyer's name; (2) the omission of the name of the mint; (3) the existence of the remarkable coin figured on Plate III, 9. The strange thing is that three years should have been allowed to pass before the matter was enquired into. What was the result of the investigation we have been unable to ascertain, but no very drastic action can have been taken, for, although we do not know under what circumstances Robert de Hadeleie ceased to hold the office of moneyer to the Abbot, there is no trace of a fresh appointment until the autumn of 1287, and his name continues to appear on a series of dies of official workmanship.

It is therefore suggested that, owing to the long dispute over the question of a standard, and the peculiar solution given to it, the matter of the supply of a die to the Abbot was overlooked. Gregory de Rokesley, whose duty it was, as Keeper of the Exchange, to furnish the die on the instructions of the Treasurer and Barons of the Exchequer, doubtless thought, when he was ordered to convey the verbal message to the Abbot, that the die had been supplied when the writ ordering that the Abbot be granted seisin of it was issued, some six months earlier, at which time Hadeleie had taken the oaths. The new Abbot, who had never superintended a coinage, would be ignorant of the usual routine, and there is every reason to suppose that, when the anxiously awaited instructions arrived, the monks, ignorant of the fact that they were doing wrong, or possibly misunderstanding the terms of the writ, set to work to make a die on the spot. This would account for the use of the moneyer's name, which had appeared on all previous dies used at the abbey. The omission of that of the mint is, perhaps, merely attributable to lack of space.

Once Hadeleie's name appeared upon the coin—which would certainly not have happened had the original die been made in London in the regular way—its perpetuation is easily explained. When a new die was needed its worn-out predecessor had to be returned to the Exchequer, and the irregular die must have gone back in due course and been given to the official die-sinkers to copy. Sooner or later the use of the moneyer's name and the absence of that of the mint must have attracted the attention of someone in authority, and the investigation of 1283 was the consequence.

THE LINCOLN MINT.

The accounts of the Keepers of the Exchange of London, from May 19th to October 18th, 1280, show a disbursement for sending a keeper of the dies to Lincoln, and, as such an official was only required when coinage was actually going on, it is evident that the mint in that city must have been opened during the period in question. The earliest type found of the Lincoln mint is III*c*, which also occurs of London, Bristol, Canterbury, and York, and of the Episcopal mint of Durham (Plate I, 8; Plate III, 10–15). It differs from III*b* in the form of the crown, on which the spear-head ornaments of Groups I and II reappear, and in that of the drapery, which, though composed of a single curved band, is broader on one side of the bust than on the other; another notable feature is that the pupils of the eyes are almost always very prominent. The lettering closely resembles that of III*b*, and the type gradually merges into III*e* (Plate I, 9, Plate IV, 1–4), the chief characteristics of which are a broader face, and drapery made of two triangular pieces. III*e* we have found of London, Bristol, Lincoln and St. Edmund's (Robert de Hadeleie). A coin of the last named, which we obtained too late to include in the plate, combines the general character of III*e* with the drapery of III*c*, and is the earliest coin with his name which exhibits the regular official workmanship.¹

¹ This coin will be illustrated in a supplementary plate.

Halfpence corresponding with these types were struck at London, Bristol, Lincoln and York (Plate III, 16, 17, 18 and 20). There are farthings, still base and heavy, of London, Bristol and York (Plate III, 21-3); they may be distinguished from those of Group II by the larger and broader head, the absence of the form **■** and the less compact initial cross. No heavy farthing of Lincoln is known, but these little coins are so rare of all the provincial mints that it would be unsafe to draw any conclusion from such negative evidence.

With IIIc must be associated the fourth groat figured on Plate V. It has spear-head shaped ornaments on the crown and comma-like contraction marks. The drapery consists of one curved piece, and there is no ornament under the bust. The obverse usually has : between the words, but is sometimes found with ;. The reverse has the correct spelling **■IBN'E**, and the dot disappears from the crossbar of the Roman **■**; the legend beginning with :. The obverse of this type is found muled with No. 1.

Several considerations enable us to place the issue of IIIc with tolerable certainty in the autumn of 1280. On the one hand, the evidence of the Lincoln mint puts it before the middle of October; on the other the existence of the halfpence gives the middle of August as the earliest possible date of issue. The history of the northern mints, it will be seen, points to the conclusion that it had merged into IIIe before the end of the year, and it will be shown that the heavy farthings cannot have been struck after Christmas, 1280.

THE NORTHERN MINTS.

When, at a date which we cannot determine exactly, but which probably coincided with that at which similar demands were made by the other privileged ecclesiastics, the Archbishop of York asked to have seisin of two dies, as his predecessors in the See had been wont to have, his claim was disputed by the King. Litigation which followed resulted in a verdict for the prelate, who satisfied the jury that the Archbishop of York had been accustomed, from time im-

memorial, to have two dies in his church of St. Peter, but a further claim to every third die used in the royal mint was not established (Appendix xxxix). A writ was therefore issued on August 18th, 1280, and witnessed by the King in person at York, directing that the Archbishop should have two dies, with all things pertaining to them, "of the King's special grace," and without prejudice to the rights of the crown (Appendix xl). That this limitation had a practical bearing will be shown in connection with later coinages.

The Archbishop's coins are distinguished from those of the royal mint by an open quatrefoil in the centre of the cross on the reverse, a mark which was retained by all his successors until the reign of Henry VII. ; some have also a cross or quatrefoil on the King's breast. Those first issued by him are of type III*d* (Plate I, 10 ; Plate III, 24-7), and this type is found only at mints situated in the North of England, at which it seems to occupy that place in the series which is filled in the South by III*e*.

It must have been soon after this that the royal mint of Newcastle, which had been closed since the first great output of Long Cross coins (1247-50), was reopened, for the following entries, which occur in the Close Roll of 1280, show that it had not begun to strike coin on August 24th :—

August 20th, York :—To James Orland', merchant of Lucca, Keeper of the Exchange of Durham, order to pay to Master Peter de Turnemire, the King's master moneyer of York, and to John Monet', of Florence, 500 pounds, by tale, of the King's new money in the exchange, to be carried by them to Newcastle-on-Tyne, in order to exchange them there. (Vacated, because the writ was restored and it is otherwise below.)

August 24th, Knaresborough :—To the same, order to cause to be delivered to Peter de Turnemire, the King's moneyer of York, 500 pounds of the King's new money in the exchange, in addition to the 500 pounds that the King lately ordered him to deliver to Peter to be carried to Newcastle, to be there likewise exchanged as the King has enjoined upon him. (Vacated, because this writ was restored and is otherwise below.)

Unfortunately, we have been unable to trace this transaction

further, but the writs suffice to show (1) that money was not being coined at Newcastle at the date of their issue ; (2) that there was good reason for opening the mint there. Accordingly, we find that III*d* was struck in that city, and was, moreover, the only type used there at this period.

Type III*d* also makes its appearance at the royal mint of York, and at the mint of Durham, and must have succeeded III*c*, which is found at both of them. It has been shown that the dies of III*c* came into use some time before the middle of October, and we shall probably not be far wrong in assuming that the issue of III*d* began somewhat about Michaelmas. As regards the Archbishop's mint at York, letters preserved in Archbishop Wickwaine's register show that it was in activity in the middle of November, and suggest that it had not long been opened (Appendices xli and xlii). The latest mention we have found of the Newcastle exchange is an order to the Keepers, dated May 28th, 1281, to deliver £1,000 to the Keepers of the Exchange of London.

As the order for the Archbishop's dies is addressed, not to the Keepers of the Exchange of London, but to those of the Exchange of York, and as the type is peculiar to the four northern mints, it is obvious that the dies must have been made at York, either from irons engraved on the spot under some special authorisation, or from irons sent there direct by the hereditary engravers. It is impossible to explain in any other way the absence of this type at the southern mints and more particularly, in the very complete series of London. III*d* is easily recognised, though it is difficult to explain wherein it differs from the southern coins, and with a little practice specimens may be picked out of a heap of pennies without reference to the reverse. Some of the dies show that peculiar form of the letter N, with a dot on the cross bar, which we have associated with the master moneyer, Peter de Turnemire.¹ This peculiar **N** also occurs on the reverse of the very rare halfpenny struck at Newcastle (Plate III, 19), which bears further evidence of provincial production in the substitution of one large pellet for a trefoil of smaller pellets in the angles of the cross.

¹ *Vide supra*, p. 110.

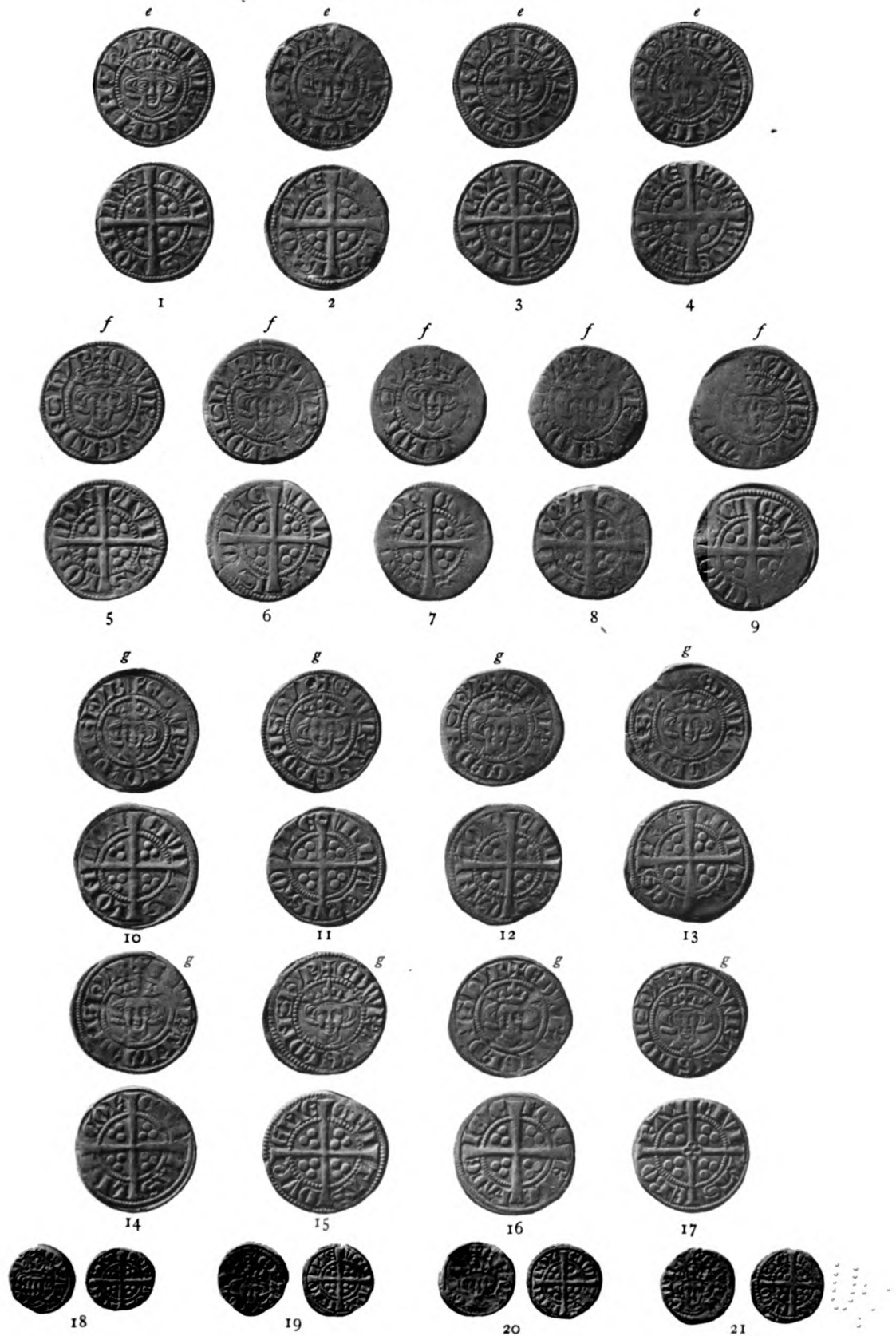
That Peter should have supplied dies to the royal mint of Newcastle, which was possibly under his jurisdiction, is not surprising, but it is remarkable that he should have furnished them to the Bishop of Durham, whose privileges were so jealously watched by the royal authorities. An explanation may perhaps be found in the facts that he was the brother of the Master Moneyer for all England, and therefore doubtless himself an influential personage, and that the King visited York while he was in office.

FARTHINGS OF STERLING SILVER.

Before discussing the date of the remaining varieties of Group III, it is necessary to mention an important change which took place with regard to the coinage of farthings. A memorandum in Norman-French, preserved in the *Red Book of the Exchequer* (Appendices xliii and xliv), sets forth that, whereas Master William Turnemire used to be paid seven pence per pound for recoinng obsolete English money, he is only to have sixpence halfpenny in future, but that the old price of fivepence nalfpenny is to be retained for the minting of oversea silver. Eightpence halfpenny is to be paid for the coining of halfpence and tenpence halfpenny for farthings; and because halfpence and farthings are more expensive to make than sterlings they are to be so much lighter as will cover the difference in cost. The reduction in weight on this account, it may be remarked, would be so slight that it would be impossible to draw any conclusion from the weight of existing coins, which, if exactly one-fourth of the penny, should weigh 5.55 grains troy. The document concludes:—"And be it known that groats and sterlings, halfpence and farthings shall be of the same alloy and assay as the standard," which can only mean that the lower standard of purity formerly used for the farthings was abolished, and that all the coins were to be made in future of sterling silver. Finally, it is dated:—"Given the tenth day of February, in the twelfth year of the reign of King Edward (1284)."

That this date cannot be correct is shown by the existence of

GROUP III (continued).



LONDON STEREOSCOPIC CO.

COINS OF EDWARD I., 1280—1282.

PLATE IV.

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light farthings of sterling silver, which, owing to their resemblance to the pence coined at Chester, cannot be put later than the year 1281, and by the accounts of the keepers of the London Exchange for the period from October 18th, 1280, to April 13th, 1281 (Appendix xlv), which prove that the change in Turnemire's rate of remuneration was made at Christmas, 1280. They contain the following entries:—

Coinage of £4,592 13s. 5d. of foreign silver at $5\frac{1}{2}d.$ per pound,
£105 5s. 0d.
Coinage of £25,832 5s. 8d. of old money before Christmas at $7d.$ per
pound, £753 3s. 7d.
Coinage of £860 of halfpence before Christmas at $9d.$ per pound,
£32 5s. 0d.
Coinage of £2,230 of farthings before Christmas at $11\frac{1}{4}d.$ per pound,
£104 10s. $7\frac{1}{2}d.$
Coinage of £12,804 0s. $11d.$ of old money after Christmas at $6\frac{1}{2}d.$ per
pound, £346 15s. 6d.
Coinage of £225 of halfpence after Christmas at $8\frac{1}{2}d.$ per pound,
£7 19s. $4\frac{1}{2}d.$
Coinage of £1,180 of farthings after Christmas at $10\frac{3}{4}d.$ per pound,
£52 17s. 1d.

It is true that there is a discrepancy of $\frac{1}{4}d.$ per pound in the payment for making farthings, but the rate shown in the account is a record of the amount actually paid, not a mere statement, copied by a scribe liable to error. The date of February 10th, 1284, must therefore be that at which it was copied into the Red Book, not that of its issue.

Type III*f* (Plate I, 12, Plate IV, 5–9) has been found only of the mints of London, Bristol, Canterbury, Lincoln and York (royal), and is uncommon of all of them. The York coin, which appears to be the latest type issued at that mint in the early part of Edward's reign, has the unusual feature of a Lombardic *ɳ* and was probably struck from locally made dies, though its close resemblance to those of the other mints seems to preclude the idea of locally made irons. The letter in question could easily have been made by a combination of those in general use. On this type there appears for the first time (except on the groats, where it was used from the beginning) a new

form of the letter **s**, though the older figure is found on some specimens. Hitherto, **s** had been formed by a combination of two crescents and two wedges, but the new letter, though still made with a combination of irons, is thickened in the waist.

Type III*f* cannot have extended far into 1281, and was succeeded by type III*g* (Plate I, 13, Plate IV, 10-16), which may conveniently be called the Chester type, since it is the only type known (at this period) of that city. It is also found of London, Bristol, Canterbury and Lincoln, besides the ecclesiastical mints of Durham and St. Edmund's (Robert de Hadeleie). An archiepiscopal coin of York, of which we have seen only the specimen figured (Plate IV, 17) is made with irons which we have failed to trace anywhere else, but bears a general resemblance to it.

That III*g* was issued early in 1281 is proved by the Chester coins, for the opening of the mint in that city must have been subsequent to December 5th, 1280, when money was ordered to be sent there to open the King's Exchange.¹

The farthings of good silver, which have already been referred to, resemble the Chester type more than any other type of penny, and may be taken to be contemporary with it. They exist of London (where they are the last to read **LONDONIENSIS** on the reverse), Bristol, Lincoln and York (Plate IV, 18-21). As they are of sterling silver they must have been issued after Christmas, 1280, and the existence of a York specimen shows that the royal mint in that city cannot have been closed until some time in 1281.²

It has been impossible to ascertain the exact date of the closing of the minor royal mints—Canterbury of course remained open—but all the evidence points to its having taken place in the autumn of 1281, possibly at Michaelmas, certainly before the end of the regnal year (November 19th). Newcastle, which did not strike III*f* or *g*, must have closed much earlier. Such evidence as is available is contained in the following extracts from the Calendar of Patent Rolls:—

¹ Close Rolls, 9 Edward I.

² Halfpennies of the London mint which appear to belong to this issue will be discussed in connection with those of Group IV, and figured beside them.

- BRISTOL. October 27th, 1281 :—Notification that Peter de la Mare, late Keeper of the Exchange of Bristol, rendered his account before the King at Westminster in the ninth year, for the whole time that he was Keeper, and retired quit.
- BRISTOL. January 13th, 1282 :—Acquittance to Peter de la Mare, Constable of Bristol Castle, for the payment to Master William de Luda, King's clerk and Keeper of the Wardrobe, Monday after the Epiphany, 10 Edw. I., of £200 out of the Exchange of Bristol, by the hands of Thomas de Guney (elsewhere described as a King's clerk). No subsequent entries.
- CHESTER. July 12th, 1281 :—Mandate to Stephen Sarazin and Robert le Mercer, Keepers of the Exchange of Chester, to deliver to Master William de Luda, Keeper of the Wardrobe, £1,250 for the expenses of the household. (No subsequent entries.)
- LINCOLN. July 13th, 1281 :—Mandate to Ralph Raby and Ralph son of Benedict, Keepers of the Exchange of Lincoln, to let Master William de Luda, Keeper of the Wardrobe, have £1,000 for the expenses of the household. (No subsequent entries.)
- NEWCASTLE. May 28th, 1281 :—Mandate to Hugh de Vichio to deliver out of the Exchange of the town of Newcastle-on-Tyne to Gregory de Rokesle and Orlandino de Podio, Keepers of the Exchange of London, £1,000 to do therewith what the King has enjoined them. (No subsequent entries.)
- YORK. October 27th, 1281 :—Notification that John Sampson and John le Especer, late Keepers of the Exchange of York, rendered their account before the King at Westminster in the ninth year for the whole time that they were Keepers, and retired quit.
- YORK. November 3rd, 1281 :—Notification that John Sampson and John le Especer, late Keepers of the Exchange of York, rendered their account for the whole time that they were Keepers before the King at Westminster, 9 Edw. I., and retired quit. (No subsequent entries.)

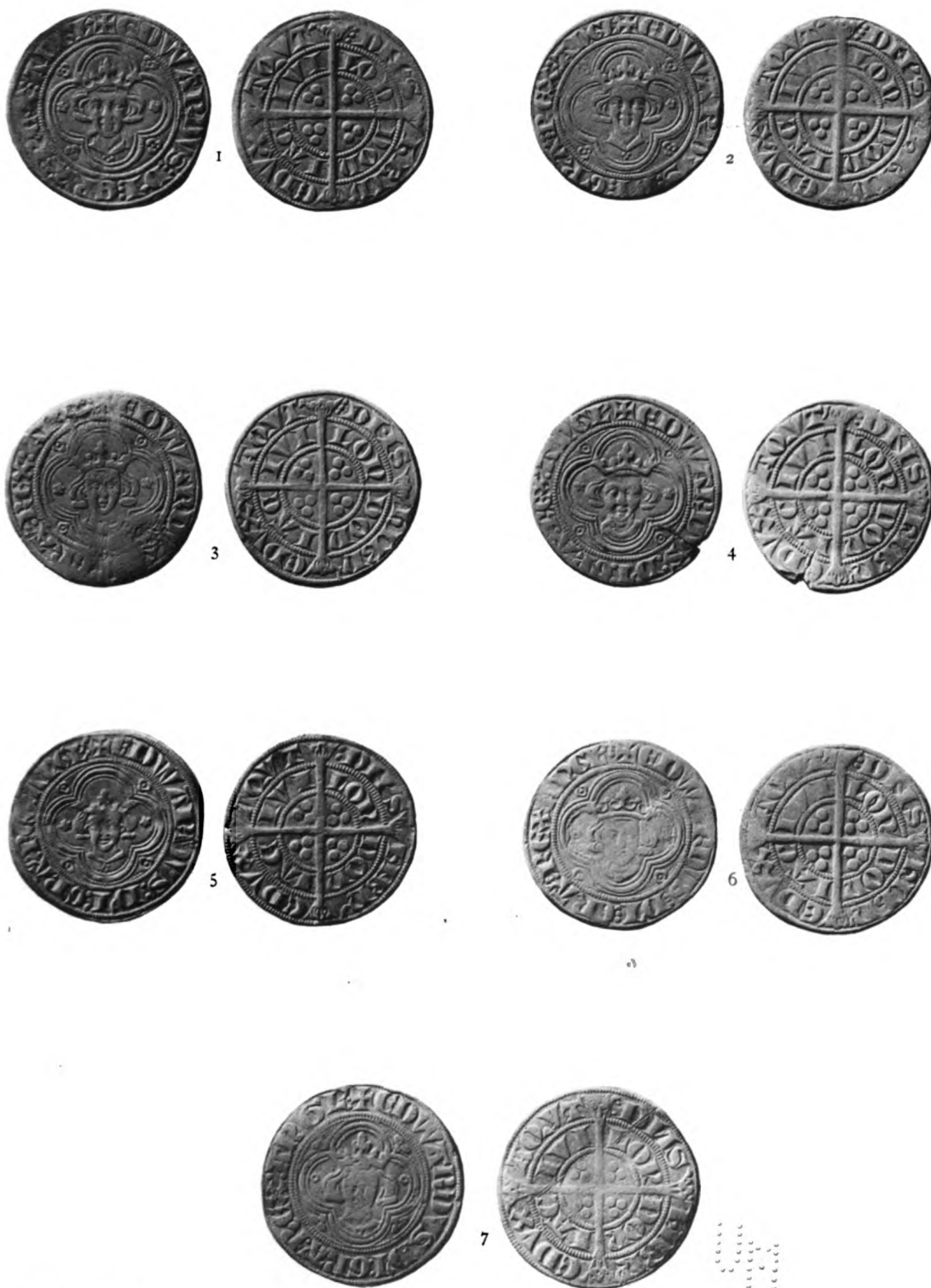
Those groats which have not yet been described (Plate V, 5, 6 and 7) do not bear a sufficiently close resemblance to any of the pence to enable them to be dated with precision. Moreover, we have been unable to ascertain when the issue of groats, which was certainly confined to a very few years, ceased. Apart from the evidence furnished by the style of the coins themselves, we have only two hints. The groat is referred to in the document given as Appendix xliii, but it has been shown that the date of February 10th, 1284, appended

to this, is not that of the subject matter, but that at which it was copied into the Red Book. It may be argued that the copyist would not have mentioned the groat if it had ceased to be coined, but it is more likely that he would have copied the document before him mechanically. This memorandum cannot, therefore, be taken as establishing the fact that groats were still being struck in 1284.

The other hint is found in the accounts of the Keepers of the London Exchange, which, until August 15th, 1286, show the amounts coined of *sterlingi*, *oboli* and *ferlingi*. From that date onward the word *denarii* is always used in place of *sterlingi*. This may be intended to mark a distinction, but it may be mere coincidence, and the piece which has been described by contemporaries as the *grossus denarius* might well be included under the term *denarius*. It must be remembered that the division into denominations in the accounts is not due to any desire to record the amount coined of each, but to the fact that the master moneyer received higher rates of pay for halfpence and farthings than for the larger coins.

As has been said above, the last three groats do not show a close correspondence with the pence. Whether 5 and 6 have been placed in their correct order is open to question, and the fact that 6 is found with the reverses used with 3 and 4 seems to point to the conclusion that they should be transposed. However that may be, we are inclined to assign them to Group III. No. 7, which introduces new features, is certainly the latest groat known, and may well belong to Group IV. As it has been necessary to include it in Plate V, it must be described in this volume. There is no change in the general type or inscriptions of the groats, and it will therefore suffice to point out the most conspicuous differences.

- No. 5. Smaller bust, with a very widely splayed crown; mantle indicated by two triangular pieces; ornaments as on groats previously described, except that a small pierced flower is on the point of the bust. Stops :. Reverse, **N** in **DN'S**, no dot on crossbar; Stops ;; one die has the **I** in **RIBR'E** linked to the **B** by a diagonal crossbar, like that of an **N**. A specimen formerly in the Montagu collection (lot 401, sale catalogue, Plate II), has **DHS** and a • after **LORDORIA**. We have seen no mules of this type.



LONDON STEREOGRAPHIC CO.

GROATS OF EDWARD I.

PLATE V.

CCCCC
CCCCC
CCCCC
CCCCC
CCCCC

- No. 6. Crown of very peculiar structure, which is well shown on the plate ; bust larger than on 5 ; Stops ⚔ ; we have seen no reverse which appears to belong specially to this type. The coin shown on the plate has a reverse from the same die as that of No. 4, which omits the contraction mark in **DN'S**. Other specimens have the reverse of 3.
- No. 7. Very large, spread coins ; long bust with tall crown ; larger lettering ; ornaments in spandrils composed of three well-formed leaves ; Stops ⚔ ; Reverse, **DMS**, without contraction mark or dot ; Stops ⚔ ; new design, containing a conspicuous trefoil, at the ends of the cross.

We desire to express our gratitude to the Staff of the Medal Room at the British Museum, and to those gentlemen who have kindly allowed us to examine their rich collections, and in many cases lent us coins for the purpose of illustrating this section of our work. Thanks are especially due to Messrs. A. W. Barnes, Nathan Heywood, L. A. Lawrence, F.S.A., F. W. Longbottom, Lt.-Col. H. W. Morrieson, F.S.A., W. Talbot Ready, H. W. Taffs and F. A. Walters, F.S.A. ; also to Mr. F. W. Lincoln, of Messrs. W. S. Lincoln and Son, for opportunities of examining the very large stock of coins of Edward I. in the possession of his firm.

APPENDIX.

(ii.)

Item 'data Regis Edwardi filii dicti Regis Henrici mutauit singulis annis die sancti Edmundi Regis videlicet xx die mensis Novembris. (*Red Book of the Exchequer*, 1067.)¹

(iii.)

Compotum Bartholomei de Castello pro se et Ricardo de Baumfeld' de exitibus cambie Londonie et Cantuarie a primo die Iulii anno 1^o per breue Regis patens usque ad xvi diem Nouembris anno liiii^{to} antequam Rex committeret predictum cambium eidem Bartholomeo custodi per se amoto predicto Ricardo per aliud breue Regis patens quod idem Bartholomeus habet penes se. Et eiusdem Bartholomei per se a predicto xvi die Nouembris usque ad vigiliam Natalis domini anno lv^{to} videlicet per quatuor annos et dimidium. (*Pipe Roll*, 114, Mem. 19.)

(iv.)

Compotum Bartholomei de Castello de exitibus Cambii Londonie a festo sancti Johannis Baptiste anno liiii sicut continetur in compoto suo de eodem Cambii in Rotulo iii in rotulo [compotorum] usque ad diem Martis in vigilio sancti Andree anno regni Regis Edwardi septimo incipiente antequam Rex caperet in manum suam Officium Cambii Londonie per Hugonem filium Ottonis et alios de consilio suo. (*Pipe Roll*, 122, Mem. 28d.)

(v.)

PRO EPISCOPO DUNELMENSIS. Rex omnibus etc. Quia per testimonium plurium fide dignorum et per antiquos cuneos coram nobis exhibitos et eciam per monetam inde fabricatam quam venerabilis pater Walterus Dunelmensis Episcopus coram nobis protulit accepimus quod predecessores eiusdem Episcopi cuneos suos apud Dunolmiam habere consueuerunt reddidimus ei seisinam cuneorum suorum Habendam Ecclesie Dunolmensis sicut predecessores predicti Episcopi eam habere consueuerunt. In cuius, etc. Teste ut supra (*id est*, Windsor, June 12). (*Patent Roll*, 37 Henry III., Mem. 9.)

¹ The references for the *Red Book of the Exchequer* are to the edition published in the Rolls series.

(vi.)

Sacrista Sancti Eadmundi venit coram Baronibus xxix die ianuarii et presentavit ibidem Iohannem de Burnedis monetarium in villa Sancti Eadmundi. Idem presentavit ibidem Iohannem de Shulldham custodem cunei in predicto Cambio qui prestiterunt Sacramentum de fideliter se habendo in officiis predictis tam domino Regi quam abbati. (*Exchequer L.T.R. Memoranda Roll*, Hil. 49 Henry III., ro. 6d.)

(vii.)

PRESENTACIO CUIUSDAM MONETARII DE CAMBIO LONDONIE. Memorandum quod die Mercurii proxima ante festum sancti Dunstani venit coram Baronibus Bartholomeus de Castello custos Cambii Londonie et Cantuarie et presentavit Philippum de Cambio ad intendendum officio monetarii in predicto Cambio Londonie loco Reginaldis de Cant' prius Monetarii ibidem qui quidem Philippus admissus fuit eodem die et sacramentum prestat de fideliter se habendo in officio predicto. (*K. R. Roll*, Pasc. 6 Edward I., No. 51, m. 5.)

(viii.)

PRESENTACIO FRATRIS SIMONIS DE KINKESTON' SACRISTE SANCTI EDMUNDI. Idem venit coram Baronibus et presentavit Iocum aurifabrum sancti Edmundi per literas Abbatis¹ eiusdem domus patentes ad custodiendum Cuneum predicti Abbatis in villa predicta et predictus Iocus admissus fuit ab eisdem Baronibus ad predictam presentationem et prestat sacramentum coram eisdem de predicto Cuneo fideliter observando. (*Exchequer Memorandum Roll*, communia de termino Sancti Michaelis anno regni Regis Edwardi quinto incipiente.)

(ix.)

Sacrista sancti Edmundi presentavit Iocum Aurifabrum de sancto Edmundo ad intendendum officio Monetarii in villa sancti Edmundi qui admissus fuit et sacramentum prestat de fideliter se habendo erga dominum Regem in predicto officio. (*Exchequer K. R. Mem. Roll*, 51, m. 5d, Pasc. 6 Edward I.)

(x.)

PRESENTACIO ROBERTI CANTUARENSIS ARCHIEPISCOPI. Memorandum quod idem Archiepiscopus venit coram Baronibus die Iouis proxima post festum sancti Iohannis Baptiste et presentavit Rogerum Le Assaur ad officium Monetarii in Cambio Cantuarie et quod tres cunei eiusdem Archiepiscopi in eodem cambio cindantur sub nomine eiusdem Rogeri qui eodem die admissus

¹ Simon de Luton, abbot 1257-1279.

tuit ad idem officium et sacramentum prestitit de fideliter se habendo erga dominum Regem et predictum Archiepiscopum et concessum est eidem Rogero quod custodiat claves eiusdem Cambii et preceptum est Iohanni Digge Civi Cantuarie quod eas eidem Rogero deliberet et Bartholomeo de Castello custodi Cambii Regis Londonie et Cantuarie quod Cuneos sub nomine eiusdem Rogeri cissos ei habere faciat. Quere infra sub hoc signo.*

* Idem vero Iohannes unum cuneum de predictis tribus cuneis quem habuit ex concessione domini Regis Henrici per cartam suam que dicto die Iouis calumpniata fuit per Archiepiscopum quod facta fuit contra libertatem ecclesie Cantuarensis reddidit prefato Archiepiscopo die veneris sequenti simul cum carta predicta. Et de transgressione quam fecit retinendo alios duos cuneos ex demissionem Magistri Ricardi de Clifford tempore quo Archiepiscopus fuit vacans et in custodia predicti Magistri Ricardi et ulterius usque nunc contra libertatem ecclesie Cantuarensis supposuit se idem Iohannes totaliter ordinacioni et beneplacito prefati archiepiscopi. (*Exchequer L. T. R. Mem. Roll*, No. 48, m. 7, Trin. 3 Edward I.)

(xi.)

Anno Domini millesimo cc^olxxvij^o in quindena Sancti Iohannis Baptiste tenuit Rex Parliamentum suum apud Gloucestriam fecitque statuta que dicuntur statuta Gloucestrie continencia xv capitula et in mense augusti fecit ibidem Rex statutum Quo Warranto et tractatum est de moneta retonsa per Iudeos et capti sunt per totam Angliam xiiij Kal. Decembris et detecta maleficorum fraude plures eorum suspensi erant factaque est in anno sequenti noua moneta et incisibilis et quadrantes et oboli rotundi quod pauperibus perniciosum erat. (Walter de Hemingburgh.)

(xii.)

Hoc anno (mccclxxviiiij) Iudei pro tonsura monete in magna multitudine ubique per Angliam suspenduntur. (Trivet.)

(xiii.)

Memorandum quod xvij die Maii liberati fuerunt cunei noue monete Gregorio de Rokesley et Rolandino¹ de Podio custodibus cambii qui prestiterunt sacramentum coram Baronibus de Scaccario una cum aliis ministris de eodem cambio de fideliter se habendis in officio suo predicto. (*Exchequer Memorandum Roll*, communia de termino Paschali anno vij^o Ed. I.)

¹ This name is more usually given as Orlandinus, which form has therefore been used throughout the article.

(xiv.)

Memorandum quod die Iouis proxima post festum Apostolorum Petri et Pauli venit coram Baronibus Gregorius de Rokesley Custos Cambii Londinie et presentavit Iohannem de Blaketorn' Radulfum de Rabith' et Iohannem de Heywode ad intendendum officio custodie cuneorum domini Regis in cambio predicto qui eodem die sacramentum prestiterunt quod bene et fideliter seruent Regem in officio predicto. (*Exchequer Memorandum Roll*, Communia de Termino Trinitatis, anno vij^o Ed. I.)

(xv.)

Officium custodum cuneorum tale est quod ipsi sedeant et videant quod operarii bene percutiant platas ad cuneum missas et quod nulla plata percutiatur neque transeat per cuneum nisi fuerat bona legalis et recta. (*Red Book of the Exchequer*, 984.)

(xvi.)

In cambio Londinie ad cuneos Regis custodiendos duos sunt intendentes unus videlicet ex parte Regis qui ferrum et asserum emere debet et a fabro usque ad manus Sculptoris lamina ferrea formata portare ipsosque cuneos sculptos et rite paratos quotiens cudere et monetare necesse fuerit deliberare et monetarios ut aperte flodones cudant superuidere et alius ex parte dñi Johannis de Buturtis qui habet in uxorem filiam et heredem Thome filii Ottonis cuius est feodo cudere cuneos Regis qui deseruiunt per totam Angliam qui capit pro sculptura et fabricatura cuiuslibet duodene vijs cuius vero officium est cuneos usitatos deformare ne amplius deseruiant et penes se omnes veteres cuneos ad opus dñi ut pro feodo suo retinere. (*Pinchbeck's Register of the Abbey of St. Edmund's*. Text taken from Ruding's transcription.)

(xvii.)

Eodem die (scilicet in octabis Sancte Trinitatis anno domini mclxxviii) mandauit Rex vicecomitibus Anglie ne falsa moneta vel retunsa ulterius daretur et Rex misit de fisco proprio veterem monetam integram non retunsam ad decem Anglie ciuitates ut inde fieret cambium donec noua moneta fabricaretur. Postea quarto die post Kalendas Augusti fuit primum cambium de noua moneta videlicet de denariis et quadrantibus rotundis et currebat adhuc vetus moneta cum noua per totum annum sequentem et tunc prohibita est generaliter vetus moneta. Oboli insuper integri interim formabantur et currere ceperunt die qua prohibicio veteris monete facta fuit. (*Annales de Dunstaplia*.)

(xviii.)

Inhibitum est ne quis ultra diem assumptionis de veteri moneta negociaretur. Facti sunt noui oboli rotundi. (Continuator of Florence of Worcester.)

K 2

(xix.)

Circa idem tempus Dominus Rex publico per totum regnum edicto proclamari fecit quod moneta retonsa amplius non curreret nec inuite ab aliquo caperetur quin etiam in certis locis regni ciuitatibus et burgis paucis tamen cambium fecit institui ita videlicet quo pro qualibet libra monete implacabilis darentur xvj denarii de incremento cambii et perciperent unam libram bone monete non retonse. Circa festum Pentecostes cepit regulacio monete retonse per totum regnum adeo ut infra tempus modicum nemo penitus ipsam admittere dignaretur. (Wikes.)

(xx.)

Eodem anno (1279) fuit excambium monete et annus ita sterilis quod a magno tempore tanta sterilitas non fuerat et annus durissimus propter sterilitatem et excambium simul concurrentia. (Cotton.)

(xxi.)

Facta est mutatio monete in Anglia quadrante trigono in rotundum permutato nec tamen adhuc pristina rationabilis moneta inter nouam discurrere prohibetur ultra vero consuetum obolis penitus suspensis factus est unus denarius magnus equipollens iiij denariis communibus. (John de Oxmede, also Continuator of Florence of Worcester, sub anno mclxxix.)

(xxii.)

Hoc anno circa festum beati Petri ad Vincula facta est generalis monete mutacio qua denarii qui findi poterant in obolos et quadrantes conversi sunt in monetam rotundam valore pretii singulorum in suo precio remanente. (*Annals of Waverley*, sub anno mclxxix.)

(xxiii.)

Circa festum beati Petri ad Vincula moneta in melius mutabatur quia denarius findi in duas partes pro obolis et in quattuor partes pro quadrantibus consuevit ordinatum fuit ad tollendam occasionem defalcationis monete quod rotundi essent denarii oboli et quadrantes. (*Annales de Wigornia*, sub anno mclxxix.)

(xxiv.)

Moneta Anglie per tonsuram nimis deteriorata ex mandato Regis renouatur obolumque qui prius formam semicirculi habebat tanquam pars denarii in medio diuisi fit rotundus juxta vaticinium Merlini dicentis findeter forma commercii dimidium rotundum erit. (Trivet, sub anno mclxxix.)

This passage is found verbatim or with slight variations in other chroniclers. Walsingham and Rishanger add the words:—
Facti sunt illo tempore primo et quadrantes.

(xxv.)

Premièrement ke hom deit fere un estaundard ke deit demoerer al Eschequer ou en quel lieu ke nostre Seignur le Roy voldra. E solum la forme del Estaundard serra fete la mone e de tel bonte cum le estaundart. Et deit estre [merche] fete et ferue del enprente del vel coyn et del novel.

Enkore ke la grose mone de quatre esterlings deit estre de la bonte del estaundard sus dite.

Enkore ke les ferlings seient round, e doyvent touz estre fet a Londres, e nent aylurs et serrunt appelez Lundreis; issi ke en quatre ferlings, ky les vodra fundre, len y trose autant de fin argent cum en l'Esterling, fors tant ke lenfaudra ceo ke il conferay[ent] plus a fere. E pur ceo ke ly ferling serroyt trop febles et trop petit de tel lay cum les sterling, si est purveu ke il eyt autant plus de lay. E est a saver ke il serrunt de peys de seysante cink souz e wit deners a la livre, e serrunt taile en tele manere ke en la unce puse aver cink fortz et cink febles; et li plus forz ne puent estre de meyns de seisante souz et wit deners a la livre, ne li plus febles de plus de soysante dis souz e wit d[enars] a la livre. E de ceo serra fet un estaundard, ansi cum des esterlings, e mis en Tresor cum le autre; e deyt estre feru del coyn del ferling.

Enkore deit hom bailler al Mestre une garde, e cele garde deit garder ke les deners seient de peis e de taile, cest a saver ke en la livre ne deit aver ke sis fortz e sis febles. Si ke le un ne portera plus ke le autre de un greyn [e demi] del dreit dener. E cele garde deit peiser la moneye sus dite, e si ele est bien trove de soen dreit peys, li mestre est quites e delivere kant al dit peys de cele moneye ke serra livre de peys et de cunte. E si avenyt ke un dener fust trove a la livre forte ou feble plus ou meyns de un greyn [e demi] al dreit dener, pur ceo ne demore mie la moneye ke ne seyt delivre. Et deit estre la livre de vint souz e treis deners. E si il avenit ke un dener fust plus ou meyns ala livre, pur ceo ne demore mie ke la moneye ne fust livre al Mestre pur payer as marchaunz. E le Mestre est tenu a mender la defaute de plus et de meyns a la moneye ke il fera apres.

Enkore ke hom deit aver un boiste a deus clefs, dunt le un deit garder li Mestre [de la monee], e le autre le gardeyn. E en la dite boiste deit em mettre de chacun dis livres [fetes], un esterling pur fere le assay. E cele boiste deit estre delivre quatre fies par an par le assayur le Roy, e cesayt [a les Cheker].

Enkore ke nostre seignur le Roy deit aver un bon assayur e leal, e ke cel assayur face le assay [de la moneye] quatre feth le an, secum il est ava(n)t dit. E si avenist ke les deners de la boiste seient trovez echarz de deus greyns e demy a la demy unce, ke pur ceo le Mestre ne seyt poynt greve, mais seit tenuz a restorer la defaute a la deliverance de la boyste [e de plus e de mayns] al dist de le assayur e des gardes. Meymes la manere sayt fete des ferlings ke sunt apele Lundrays de boyste et de tut cum de les deners.

Enkore ke le Roy face crier par tot soen reaume ke nul hom ne chaunge la

monoye, ne nule plates, ne nul autre manere de argent fors al chaunge le Roy, ou a teles persones ke al ceo serrunt assignees ; e ke nul hom seit si hardi de porter hors del reaume de Engleterre la monoye abatue ; e ke cunte ceo fra soen corse et ses biens seyent a la volunte le Roy.

Enkore ke nul orfevre ne achate nul argent, fors de vele vessele, si nun a chaunge ; ne en nule vile seit overant nul orfevre fors en grant rues, a veue de gent, sur greve forfeiture a la volunte le Roy.

(The words in square brackets are interlineated.)

Nomina ministrorum Cambii

Gregorius de Rokele Orlandinus } Custodes Cambii. Idem sunt Custodes mone-
de Podio. } te et respondeant Regi in formam etc.

Magister Hubertus Alion de } Isti sunt magistri monete et respondeant de
Aste Magister Willelmus de } moneta in formam etc. fideliter super vita et
Turnemire et Petrus frater ejus } membrorum. Et insuper invenient fide-
de Marcell(ia). } jussores citra festum Sancti Michaelis
proxima futurum. [Jurati.]

Bonifacius Galgani de Florencia, assayator monete [juratus].

Johannes de Haydenstane, Clericus Cambii.

Contra-rotulator sit ex parte Regis.

N.B.—The words “Jurati,” “Juratus” appear to have been added later.

(*Red Book of the Exchequer*, 980.)

(xxvi.)

Et ne futuris temporibus possit fraus fieri de legali moneta regni de consilio predictorum omnium pro utilitate reipublice facta sint duo assaia pond[us] utri[us]que Xs. quorum unum est de puro argento et aliud de argento ad cuius exemplar debet fieri moneta que duo assaia quodam quonio (=cuneo) impressa posita sint in thesauro dñi Regis apud Westmonasterium sub sigillo Maioris Londonie. Consimiliter facta sunt plura assaia in forma predicta dicto conio signata per diversa loca ubi erigitur cambium liberata scilicet apud Londoniam duo pondera xl denariorum unum videlicet purum ad argentum cognoscendum et aliud ad monetam—and at the other mints in the same way. (*Red Book of the Exchequer*, 1073-4.)

(xxvii.)

Ad custodem monete pertinet cognicio et pericia assaiandi examinandi et omnium aliorum per que suffiencia monete probari seu examinari valeat et cognosci quod si custos hoc ignorauerit habeat quempiam ad hoc ydoneum loco sui. Item ad ipsum custodem summopere pertinent per se vel per alium

ubique etiam in manu sculptoris siue ingrauatoris cuneos monete tanquam sigillum regium diligentissime custodire et videre quod in ipsis cuneis per monetarios apte et recte denarii prout condecet monetentur ipsos quoque denarios monetacione consummata conseruare tenetur cum omni diligencia et cautela ne a sua custodia ullatenus transferantur donec per examinacionem ydoneam fuerint liberati sic enim moneta tutissime custoditur. Sit autem examinador circumspectus in facienda qualibet examinacione monete eo studiosius tenerius et attencius quod unde magister monete exoneratur in examine inde ipse custos siue examinador totaliter oneratur ita quod post [examinacionem et] deliberacionis sensuram magister non tenetur amplius respondere. In potestate enim et officio examinantis existet deliberare monetam quam ydoneam inuenerit et non ydoneam reprobare ac ipsam remittere ad funditorium ad custus videlicet magistri emendandam et si necessitas exigerit fundendam ac in omnibus reformandam. (*Red Book of the Exchequer*, 1003.)

(xxviii.)

Ad Magistrum monete pertinet bilhonis¹ et argenti cognicio et eiusdem empicio et allaiacio ac omnimoda monete dispositio necnon et operariorum ac monetariorum suorum gubernatio et cohercio in hiis enim que ad gerendum idem officium requiruntur a nemine possunt regi aut distringi conveniencius quam ab ipso. (*Red Book of the Exchequer*, 1002.)

(xxix.)

Rex etc. custodibus cambii sui Cantuarie salutem. Quia de gracia nostra speciali concessimus venerabili patri Iohanni Cantuariensi archiepiscopo quod ad presens vobis liberet denarios suos proprios et percipiat emolumentum eorundem per visum unius de suis quos ad hoc deputauit quantum ad emolumentum trium cuneorum quos clamat ad se pertinere ratione archiepiscopatus sui predicti prout temporibus predecessorum suorum temporibus aliorum cambiorum fieri consuevit saluo iure nostro vobis mandamus quod eundem archiepiscopum id facere permittatis in forma supradicta. Teste me ipso apud Cantuariam xxj die Iunii anno regni nostri vij^o. (*Registrum fratris Johannis Peckham, Archiepiscopi Cantuariensis*, 1882, I, 52.)

(xxx.)

Domino S. de Penecestro, etc. Cum dominus rex nobis tres cunios nostros Cantuarie ita libere tenendos concesserit sicut predecessores nostri eos habere consueuerunt eciam super hoc domino G(regorio) maiori London' et Rolandino de Podio custodibus cambii literatorie mandauerit quatenus dictos cunios nobis pacifice et plene habere permittant et domos cambii Cantuarie faciant preparare rerum quia predicti G et R dictos domos ausi non sint ingredi quia hostia domorum sigillo vestro sunt signata vestram dilectionem de qua plene

¹ See Appendix xlv.

confidimus presentibus duximus exorandum quatenus cum celeritate quam poteritis personaliter accedere dignemini apud Cantuariam et domos cambii cum utensilibus in eisdem existentibus dictis G et R vel eorum attornatis faciatis liberari. Et siquid sit in eisdem quod speciali indiget custodia super hoc si placet vestra ordinet discrecio. Hoc fiducialiter vobis scribimus scituris quod mora est nobis multum damnosa. Tantum si vestro sederit beneplacito facientes ut premissa effectui mancipienter et quod vobis ex hoc specialiter teneamur regraciari voluntatem vestram nobis super hiis rescribentes. Valete. Datum xv Kal. Septembris. (*Registrum fratris Johannis Peckham, Archiepiscopi Cantuarensis*, 1882, I, 52.)

(xxxi.)

Mandatum est Thesaurio et Baronibus Regis de Scaccario quod habere faciant venerabili patri R[icardo] Dunelmensi Episcopo seisinam trium cuneorum de sterlingis noue monete Regis cum omnibus ad cuneos illos spectantibus sicut predecessores sui Episcopi Dunelmenses cuneos ad predictum scaccarium habere consueuerunt in mutacione aliarum monetarum saluo iure Regis. Teste etc. apud Westmonasterium ij die Novembris. (*Close Roll*, 7 Edward I., No. 96, Mem. 3.)

(xxxii.)

Mandatum est Thesaurio et Camerariis quod habere faciant abbati Sancti Edmundi eandem seisinam cunei ad Monetam fabricandam et omnium ad huiusmodi cuneum pertinencium qualiter Simon¹ nuper abbas eiusdem loci habuit de huiusmodi cuneo ad monetam fabricandam ut predictum est. Teste etc. apud Westmonasterium viij die Novembris. (*Close Roll*, 7 Edward I., No. 96, Mem. 3.)

(xxxiii.)

Memorandum quod proclametur per totum Regnum quod nulla fiat tonsura de noua moneta sub periculo vite et membrorum et amissione omnium terrarum et tenementorum ac omnium rerum et bonorum quorumcunque illorum quos inde per iudicium Curie domini Regis convinci contigerit. Et Rex prohibebit ne aliqua tonsura fiat de eadem moneta sub pena predicta. Et similiter prohibebit Rex ne aliquis recipiat aliquam monetam de eadem tonsam sub pena predicta. (*Red Book of the Exchequer*, 983.)

(xxxiv.)

Eodem die (jovis proxima post festum apostolorum Petri et Pauli) venit coram Baronibus Hugo Filius Otonis custos filie² et heredis Thome Filii Otonis

¹ Abbot Simon de Luton died early in 1279. His successor, John de Norwold, was elected on May 5th.

² The entry reads "fil'," but other documents show that the surviving child of Thomas FitzOtho was a daughter. See Appendix xvi.

ad quem spectat scindere cuneos predictos et presentavit Stephanum de Mundene ciuem Londoniensem ad intendendum loco predicti heredis officio predicto qui eodem die admissus fuit et sacramentum prestitit de fideliter se habendo in officio predicto. (*Exchequer L. T. R. Mem. Roll*, 52, m. 6d, Trin. 7 Edward I.)

(xxxv.)

[The words printed in small capitals are peculiar to the version given in the *Pipe Roll*. Those in italics are peculiar to the *Red Book* version.]

Conuentum est cum Magistro Willelmo de Turnemire de Marcellia SUPER FABRICACIONE MONETE (*die Veneris in festo conceptionis Beate Marie anno regni Regis Edwardi octauo*) in hunc modum videlicet quod idem (*Magister Willelmus*) erit magister monete (*Regis*) in Anglia et operari faciet monetam in quatuor locis ad presens videlicet (*apud*) London' ubi habebit tot furnesias quod habere poterit apud Cantuariam ubi faciet operari et sustinebit octo furnesias cum illis tribus que sunt Archiepiscopi (*Cantuarensis*) apud Bristolliam habebit xii furnesias et apud Eboracum (*habebit*) xii furnesias et in quolibet predictorum locorum trium (*videlicet apud Cantuariam apud Bristolliam et Eboracum*) habebit sub se unum magistrum ad custodiendam predictam monetam et ea que ad monetam pertinent et sustinebit sumptibus suis expensas et misas hominum suorum in eisdem locis videlicet predicti magistri monetar' et custodis platarum et funditoris gacionis in funditorio et aliorum ministrorum. Ita quod omnia onera et expensas portabit predictus Magister Willelmus in predictis quattuor locis et monetam reddet domino Regni coctam et dealbatam et paratam in omnibus sumptis suis et (*dominus*) Rex dabit ei pro qualibet libra VETERIS MONETE FABRICATA (*sterlingorum*) septem denarios ET PRO QUALIBET LIBRA ARGENTI DE GAUNT ET ALTERIUS ARGENTI CUIUSCUMQUE FABRICATA VI. OB. videlicet tres denarios (*et*) quadrantem pro stipendiis monetariorum percuciencium et fabricancium monetam et allocabuntur eidem magistro unus denarius et unus quadrans in decasu argenti ad ignem et unus denarius et obolus in emendacione cuiuslibet libre monete ita quod pro emendacione monete et in decasu ad ignem allocabuntur ei in qualibet libra undecim ferlingi¹ ut predictum est ita allocabitur eidem magistro unus denarius in qualibet libra pro stipendiis suis et expensis et etiam aliorum magistrorum sub se et aliorum ministrorum SUB SE (*suorum*) tam in cibis et potibus quam robis suis et aliis et pro carbone et pro cuneis emendis et scindendis et aliis expensis circa monetam et (*dominus*) Rex inueniet eidem magistro Willelmo domos in quolibet predictorum quatuor locorum aptas ad fabricandum in eis et sustinebit onus feodi

¹ Erroneously written "sterlingi" in the *Pipe Roll*. Confusion between the two words is very frequent.

(*domini*) Hugonis filii Ottonis custodis Ottonis nepotis sui quod clamat habere in custodia cuneorum vel satisfaciet eidem Hugoni pro illo feodo utensilia autem que (*dominus*) Rex habet Londonie in domibus suis monete liberabuntur prefato Magistro Willelmo in statu quo nunc sunt de prestito et idem Magister Willelmus eadem restituet in fine anni vel quando officium monete dimittet in eodem statu in quo tunc fuerunt. Conuentum est etiam cum eodem Magistro Willelmo quod grossum sterlingum qui valet quatuor minores sterlingos faciet per Angliam eodem foro et eadem conditione quibus faciet predictum sterlingum minorem eo tam adjecto quod quia idem grossus denarius fabricari potest leuius quam communis sterlingus quicquid inde poterit comodi accrescere cedet ad proficuum (*domini*) Regis. Conuentum est etiam cum (*eodem*) Magistro Willelmo PREDICTO quod ipse faciet ferlingos per Angliam qui nunc sunt rotundi et Lundrenses vocantur ita quod (*dominus*) Rex habebit de qualibet libra tantum proficui quantum habebit de communibus sterlingis videlicet xii sterlingos et sciendum quod quelibet libra continebit [vii c] quateruiginti lundrenses et iii solidos ultra numero quo apponitur in ipsa moneta magis de ALAYO (*eslaio*) quam in sterlingis propter magnas expensas quas oportet ponere circa eandem paruam monetam fabricandam et estimatur quod in qualibet libra illius parue monete oportet allocari predicto magistro Willelmo decem denarios (*et obolum*) pro factura et omnibus custibus circa fabricam illius libre faciendis et remanebunt (*domino*) Regi de qualibet libra de proficuo xii d. ad minus. Et sciendum quod predictus Magister Willelmus incipiet fabricare in crastino circuncisionis domini anno predicto iuxta formam irrotulatam in Scaccario videlicet de omnibus monetis predictis. (*Pipe Roll*, 132, and *Red Book of the Exchequer*, 985.)

(xxxvi.)

Scrutatis rotulis et memorandis de scaccario compertum est in memorandis de anno viij^o Regis Edwardi patris Regis nunc inter communia de termino Michaelis quod tunc Abbas de sancto Edmundo per fratrem Symonem de Kyngyston' sacristam sancti Edmundi presentauit Robertum de Hadeleye ad intendendum officio monetarii in cambio sancti Edmundi et Iohannem de Rede ad intendendum officio assayatoris ibidem et admissi fuerunt. (*Harleian MS.*, 645, fo. 117.)

(xxxvii.)

DE CUNEO ET MONETARIO:—Cum post mortem Regis Henrici filii Regis Iohannis facta esset mutacio monete in Anglia anno vij^o Regis Edwardi filii ipsius Regis Henrici idem Rex Edwardus concessit sancto Edmundo cuneum suum videlicet unum standardum ferreum cum duobus trussellis. Petierunt insuper conuentus sancti Edmundi a dicto domino Rege standardum monete et

assaia eiuſdem ponderis et puri argenti cum numero denariorum libre fabricate ſed quia iſta hactenus inaudita fuerant nec in aliquo domini Regis Rotulo huius petitionis pro tempore preterito aliqua inuenta fuit facta mencio cepit res dilacionem uſque ad annum ipſius domini Edwardi Regis viij. Re g¹ (grauiter?) interim per dominum Regem et ipſius conſilium plenarium diligenter diſcuſſa et examinata tandem viij die menſis Iunii anni eiſdem Regis viij ad ſcaccarium preſentibus tam ipſius ſcaccarii baronibus quam aliis conſiliorum ipſius domini Regis pertinencibus taliter pro cuneo ſancti Edmundi eſt prolatum.

In Rotulo Memorand. ad Scaccarium apud Weſtmonaſterium viij die Menſis Iunii ſcilicet vigilia Pentecoſtis anno Regis Edwardi filii Regis Henrici viij^o.

Cum labbe de Seint Edmon priast a noſtre Seingneur le Roy qe lui rendiſt le Coyn ſulom ceo qe ceo predeceſſoures auoient eu auaunt et noſtre Seingneur le Roy le Coyn lui eit rendu a la forme auaunt dite et meymes celui Abbe veniſt puſ a noſtre Seingneur le Roy et li priast qil comaundast qe lem lui liuerast leſtandard cum aportenaunt a coyn acorde eſt par le counſeil qe leſtandard ne lui ſeit point liuere meſ qe lem die a labbe de bouche com bien dargent puuir eſt en la liuere de la nouele moneye le Roy et com bien de alay lem doit mettre a taunt d'argent et cum bien la liuere del argent mune deit peiſer et cum bien de deners il doict auoer a la liuere par acounte. Et puſ lui ſeit dit qil face ſa muneſe ſi cum feit liuerer (le) Roy.

ſcilicet Grigorio de Rokeleye tunc Londinie maiori atque ſummo domini Regis cuneorum magiſtro ſiue miniſtro ab ipſo domini Regis conſilio fuit mandatum quatenus in permiſſis nos certificaret a quo talem recepimus certificacionem ſcilicet quod id non ſcripto ſcilicet tam nobis retulit.

La lyuere de la muneſe content xij vnces. En la lyuere deit eſtre de fyn argent xj vnces deus eſterlings et un ferling et le autre alay. Et la lyuere deit peiſer monee xxs. et iij^d. iſſint qe nule lyuere ne ſeit utre xxs. iij^d. ne meyns qe xxs. ij^d. par counte. Et deit la muneſe eſtre taillie ken la lyuere ne deiuent eſtre qe vj forz et vj febles de vn greyn et demy le fort et de un greyn et demy le feble al dreit dener. Et ſi il auent qe vij forz ou ſet ſeiunt troues febles utre le greyn et demy en la lyuere troue par le aſſaiour ya (?) pur ceo ne leſſe qil ſes ne delyuere ſi plus ne iſeint et cele et la muneſe le Roy.

Vncia ponderat xx^d. denarius ponderat xxiiij grana. denarius fortis ponderat xxv grana et dimidium granum. denarius debilis ponderat xxij grana et dimidium granum. De quadrante obolo ſiue de denario precii iij denariorum nullam adhuc fecimus mencionem. Anno domini gracie M^oCC lxxx^o qui et fuit annus regni Regis Edwardi filii Regis Henrici viij die videlicet ſanctorum Iohannis et Pauli iuxta euidentiam per preceptum domini Regis in eius curia ut ſupradictum eſt nobis factum primo apud ſanctum Edmundum fecimus monetam.

(*Harleian MS.*, 645, folio 152. The paragraph beginning "Cum labbe" is alſo found in the *Red Book of the Exchequer* (p. 987) with ſlight variations.)

(xxxviii.)

I de Louetot et Gregorius de Rokesle assignati ad inquirendum per sacramentum et cetera de Comitatu Suffolk' qui monetarii monetam Regis in villa de sancto Edmundo fabricarunt et cuneum Regis ibidem per Regem liberatum et traditum intrarunt et falsauerunt et ad monetam per ipsos monetarios fabricatam videndam et examinandam necnon et ad Cuneos quos in custodia dictorum monetariorum ubicumque inueniri contigerit infra libertatem uel extra videndos et ipsos in manu Regis si minus idonei fuerint iuxta discrecionem suam captandos et ad omnes alias circumstantias negotium illud contingentes propter libertatem quamcumque non omisso (*sic*) plenius audiendas et terminandas et ad plenam et celerem iusticiam inde faciendam secundum legem et cetera. In cuius et cetera. Teste Rege apud Kaernarvan xvij die Iulii. (*Patent Roll*, 11 Edw. I., Mem. 13, dors.)

(xxxix.)

Willelmus Archiepiscopus Eboracensis summatus fuit ad respondendum domino Regi de preterito quo waranto clamat habere duos cuneos monetales in ciuitate domini Regis Eboraci sine licencia et voluntate domini Regis vel predecessorum suorum Regum Anglie et cetera.

Et Archiepiscopus per attornatum suum venit et dicit quod ipse clamat predictos cuneos tali waranto quod omnes predecessores sui a tempore quo non exstat memoria fuerunt in seisinam habendi predictos cuneos et ad maiorem euidenciam dicit quod tempore Henrici Regis filii conquestoris quidam Odo Vicecomes Eboraci impediuit quemdam Gerardum tunc Eboracensem Archiepiscopum quominus habere potuit placita in curia sua de monetariis et iudicia eorundem per quod idem Archiepiscopus senciens se inde grauatum accessit ad predictum dominum Regem et ostendit sibi seisinam suam et ius ecclesie sue Sancti Petri Eboraci per quod idem Rex mandauit predicto Vicecomiti litteram suam patentem in hec verba "Henricus Dei gracia Rex Anglorum Odoni Vicecomiti et R filio Godonis salutem Volo et precipio ut Gerardus Eboracensis Archiepiscopus in terris ecclesiarum suarum et in omnibus terris Eboracensis Archiepiscopatus placita sua in curia sua habeat de monetariis suis et de latronibus et de omnibus aliis et omnes leges et consuetudines suas et ecclesiarum suarum de omnibus habeat sicut et Thomas Archiepiscopus melius habuit tempore patris vel fratris mei et noua statuta mea de iudiciis sive de placitis latronum et placitorum monetariorum exequatur et finiat per suam propriam iusticiam in curia sua nec ipse aliquid perdat vel ecclesie sue pro nouis statutis meis set (sed) ea ut dixi in curia sua facit per suam propriam iusticiam secundum statuta mea Teste R Cestrensi Episcopo apud Wintoniam in Pascha " Et dicit quod ipse et omnes predecessores sui usi sunt habere predictos cuneos sicut eos clamat ponit se super patriam et preterea dicit quod omnes predecessores sui usi sunt habere quemque tercium cuneum de tot cuneis quot dominus Rex

in ciuitate Eboraci habuit et petit quod ius suum aliter sibi saluetur in hac parte.

Et Gilbertus de Thorneton' qui sequitur pro Rege petit iudicium de sicut ipse nullum titulum ostendit de predictis cuneis habendis nec predictum scriptum sit solum quedam euidencia quod ipse predictos cuneos habere debeat si hoc sit ei sufficiens warantum et preterea petit pro domino Rege quod inquiratur de seisina et modo seisine. Et Willelmus Louell Iacobus de Fryvill Thomas de Gunneby Johannes de Boxhale Willelmus de Holteby Robertus del Holm Thomas de Sutton' Radulfus Saluayn Willelmus de Hertlington Hugo de Linton' Willelmus le Staliley Johannes de Milforde Nicholaus de Okelsthorpe Johannes de Sutton' et Ricardus de Bruneby iurati ad hoc electi veniunt et dicunt super sacramentum suum quod predictus Archiepiscopus et omnes predecessores sui a tempore quo non exstat memoria fuerunt in seisina habendi predictos cuneos sicut eos clamat Ideo consilium est quod predictus dominus Rex nichil capit per breue istud Et Archiepiscopus inde sine die et cetera. (Placita de Quo Waranto, Rot. 9d.)

(xl.)

PRO ARCHIEPISCOPO EBORACENSI. Mandatum est Custodibus Cambii Eboraci quod habere faciant domino Willemo Eboracensi Archiepiscopo Anglie primati duos cuneos cum pertinentibus ad cambiendum in ciuitate Eboraci de gracia Regis speciali salue accione et iure Regis et alterius cum inde loqui voluerit prouiso cum quod sacramentum recipiatur a ministris eorundem quod in aliis Cambiis fieri consuevit. Teste Rege apud Eboracum xvij^o die Augusti (*Close Roll*, 8 Edw. I., m. 3).

(xli.)

Domino W. de Maltone:—Faciatis cuniariis nostris Eboracensibus de mutuo hoc quod eis promisistis usque Natale Domini. Burtone xv. Kal. Dec. (November 17, 1280). (*Archbishop Wickwaine's register*.)

(xlii.)

DOMINO I BECK PRO MONETARIO:—Suo predilecto et precordiali in Xristo precentori Eboracensi salutem graciā et benedicionem Quia magistris Petro Gill'nno Gwydonis magistris monete cuneos nostros et monetam ad terminum commissimus dummodo de fidelitate eorundem et modo securitatis nostre nobis si placuerit rescribatis ad eorum instanciam super hoc ut amicus premunitor et beneuolus nunciabitis velle vestrum ne dispendium incurramus aliquod vel grauamen. Datum apud Burtonam xij Cal. Decembris pontificatus nostri anno secundo (November 19, 1280). (*Archbishop Wickwaine's register*.)

(xliii.)

Il fet a remembrer ke la ou lem dona a Mestre Willeme Turnemyre pur ouerage e pur moneage de bilon de la tere de Angletere set deners lem ne donne

fors sis deners e maile ore aparamemes e pur ouerage e pur moneage de argent de outre mer sinc deners e maile ausint le fet om uncore e pur ouerage e moneage de mayles viijd. ob. e pur ouerage e moneage de ferlings xd. ob. pur charbon e pur totes maneres de custages e pur ceo ke mayles e ferlings custent plus a ouever e a moneer ke ne funt les esterlings pur ceo sunt il de tant cum il custent plus de mendre peis ke les esterlings e fet a sauer ke les gros deners e les esterlings les mayles e les ferlings serrunt de memes le alay e de memes le assay ke le estandard. Done le dime iur de Feuerer le an de regne le Rey Edward dozime (February 10, 1284). (*Red Book of the Exchequer*, III, 983.)

(xliv.)

Dicitur autem bilho moneta defenza que videlicet cursu caret. (Tractatus nove monete, *Red Book of the Exchequer*, III, 997.)

(xlv.)

xx
Et in MMMM. D. iiij. xij.*li.* xij.*s.* v.*d.* fabric' et monetand' de argento de Gaunt Brug' et Bruc' per tempus compoti c.*vi.**li.* v.*s.* videlicet pro qualibet libra v.*d.* ob.

Et in xxv mill' DCCCxxxij.*li.* v.*s.* viij.*d.* fabric' et monetand' de veteri moneta ante Natale domini DCclij.*li.* iij.*s.* vij.*d.* videlicet pro qualibet libra vij.*d.*

Et in DCCCLx.*li.* obolorum fabric' et monetand' ante Natale domini xxxij.*li.* v.*s.* videlicet pro qualibet libra ix.*d.*

Et in MMCCxxx.*li.* ferlingorum fabric' et monetand' ante Natale domini Ciiij.*li.* x.*s.* vij.*d.* ob. videlicet pro qualibet libra xj.*d.* quadrans.

xx
Summa DCCCCiiij.*xv.**li.* iiij.*s.* ij.*d.* ob.

Et in xij. mill' DCCCiiij.*li.* xj.*d.* fabric' et monetand' de veteri moneta post Natale domini CCCxlvj.*li.* xv.*s.* vj.*d.* videlicet pro qualibet libra vj.*d.* ob.

Et in CCxxv.*li.* obolorum fabric' et monetand' post Natale vij.*li.* xix.*s.* iiij.*d.* ob. videlicet pro libra viij.*d.* ob.

xx
Et in MCiiij.*li.* ferlingorum fabric' et monetand' post Natale Lij.*li.* xvij.*s.* i.*d.* videlicet pro libra x.*d.* ob. quadrans.

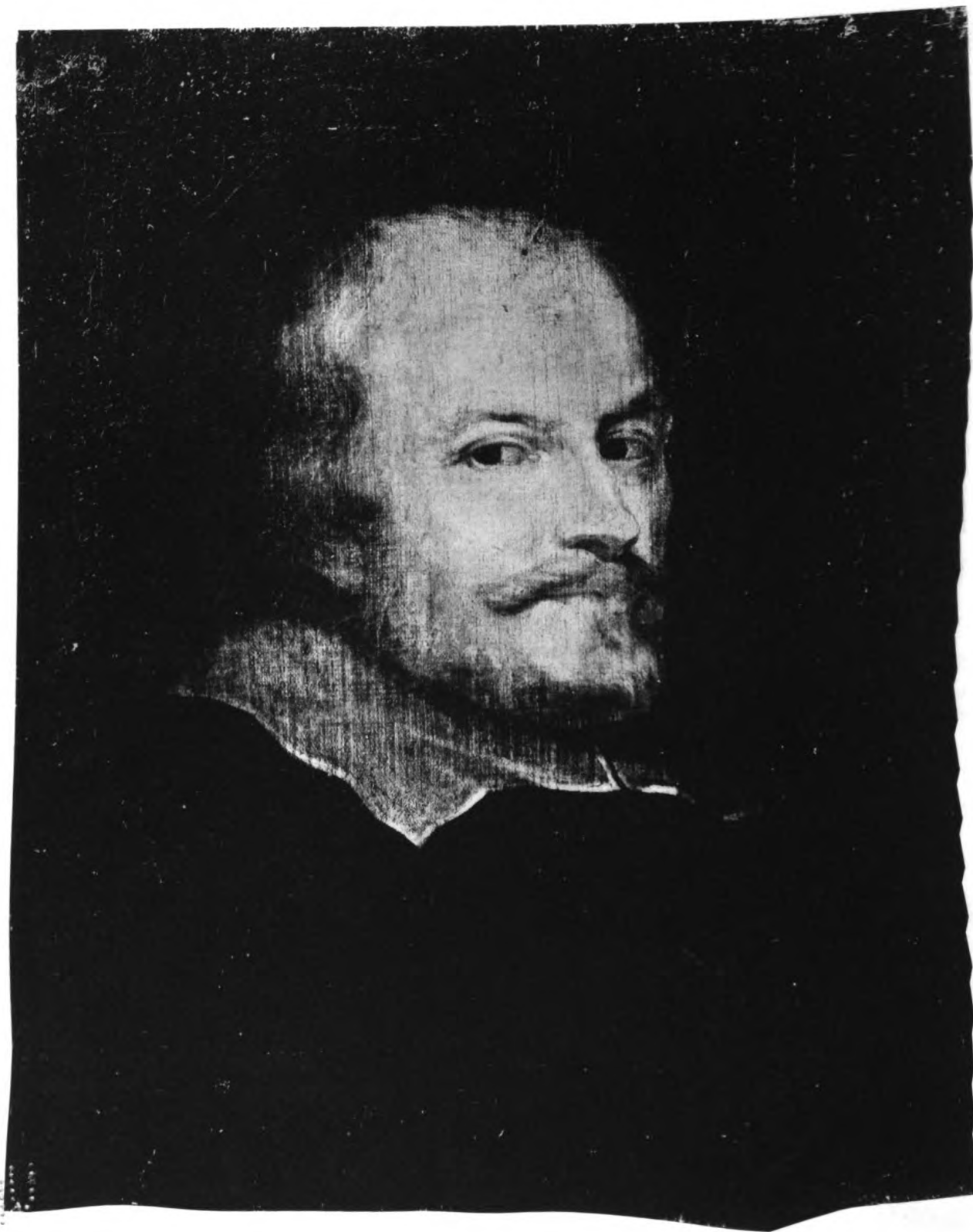
Summa CCCCVij.*li.* xj.*s.* xj.*d.* ob.

(Extract from keepers' accounts for the period from October 18, 1280, to April 13, 1281. *Pipe Roll*, 15 Edw. I., 132.)

Erratum.

In Appendix i (vol. vi, p. 212, line 7), for "Breuis" read "Breue."





WILLIAM SHAKSPERE.

THE PORTRAIT ON WHICH THE MEDAL OF 1911 IS BASED,
IN THE POSSESSION OF W. SHARP OGDEN.

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SHAKSPERE'S PORTRAITURE :
PAINTED, GRAVEN, AND MEDALLIC.

BY W. SHARP OGDEN.

NO man should lightly pen the name of Shakspeare; nor without good and sufficient reason increase the flood of literature which is incessantly gathering around his personality. The pre-eminence of his genius is too great for us to comprehend save by comparison, and we realise his supremacy by contrast with the chief of those whose work is the outcome of intuitive and creative power, but he, apparently without effort, mediates nature with humanity, lays bare the springs of action, bids the dead revive and dumb forgetfulness again grow eloquent, and from the unseen calls into being a world of creatures, like ourselves in frailty, thought and action, but as immortal as created thing can be.

Much of modern criticism is of great and ever-increasing value, but with it is blended a not inconsiderable proportion of the trifling and superfluous, mere ineptitudes arising from imperfect appreciation or apprehension and which, while valueless as such, only serve to embarrass the student and enquirer who, seeking a closer intimacy with the original, naturally welcome whatever of illustrative or supplementary detail may be gathered from the labours of intelligent and painstaking research. Where the field of study is illimitable, as in this of Shakspeare, there is more to be gained by exhaustive enquiry of a part than in attempting to grasp an entity altogether beyond our powers. The investigator of personal concernings may do better and yeoman service by clearing doubt or revealing unsuspected affinity, than

in expanding into generalities which, however pleasant in the perusal, have little actual value compared with the fruit of patient research in the by-ways of dormant or forgotten things.

This paper, therefore, is an attempt, on purely material lines, to differentiate the various known portraits of Shakspeare, and by analysis of object rather than record, to separate the true from the apocryphal or false, and also to free certain of them from the superficial obscurities with which they have been invested by some recent criticism. The writer prefers to accept internal evidence of identity as less fallible and of higher value than authority resting chiefly on tradition, or former recognition, even when this is of early or even contemporaneous date; for when fairly considered, the claims of the former are based on material evidence and therefore incontestable, whilst the latter may only be, and not infrequently is, the mistaken guarantee of substitutes, genuine in themselves, but figuring under an alias through transposition or other accidents, or even deliberate fraud in times more or less remote and beyond enquiry.

The personal relics of Shakspeare, when we take into consideration the high repute in which he was held during the greater part of his life, and the prosperous surroundings of his later years, are by no means so numerous nor even of the quality which we might reasonably expect. His birthplace and his tomb are still with us, it is true, but the connecting links of his fifty-two years of life, with some exceptions, are uncertain and fragmentary. Time has swept away every original atom of the manuscripts of that incomparable literature which is increasingly regarded as the standard of intellectual force. Vandal hands have destroyed the house he built and the trees he planted. His descendants have ceased from amongst us, but his name, his lineaments, and the inner portraiture of his mind, inseparably blended, are the best known and most esteemed of controlling factors in the ever-broadening stream of human intelligence.

It is far from improbable that Shakspeare's gradual retirement to his Stratford home was for the purpose of perfecting and preparing his writings for publication in a complete form. Their value was undoubted, and the practical side to his nature must in any case have

impelled him to action amidst the quietude and lack of congenial society at Stratford. We may conjecture, therefore, that such a ready and prolific pen must have provided many, both used and unused, manuscripts, which his rather unexpected death may have left in an incomplete form. It is quite possible that whatever he had done in this respect fell into the hands of his literary executors, but when we remember that the Puritan leanings of his family forbade more than a cold assent to the publication, the total disappearance a few years later of all personal manuscripts points to their deliberate destruction by his non-sympathetic descendants.

What then have time and circumstance conserved and delivered into our keeping that is material or authentic, of the image and presentment of the Shakspeare of everyday life? Of the Shakspeare who, unaided by birth, friends, surroundings or fortune, sought by a natural affinity the acquaintance of the genius of his age, "and had his claims allowed," became their beloved friend and mentor, and as one who knew him well most justly says—

"He was not of an Age, but for all time!
And all the Muses still were in their prime,
When like Apollo he came forth." B. J.

Voicing the virility of young England, he gave humanity to think and speak with higher and nobler utterance until, his mission ended, careless of fame, he closed his eyes on a world which has never ceased to regard him as the greatest birth of Time.

The portraits and attributed portraits of Shakspeare may be primarily divided into four distinct groups as follows :—

Firstly, those which are universally known and accepted, the specially prepared work of his family and friends, or which are associated with him by internal evidence and credible tradition ;

Secondly, those of contemporary or early date, which, although unauthenticated by record or tradition, yet bear in some points resemblance to accepted portraiture. But some of

VOL. VII.

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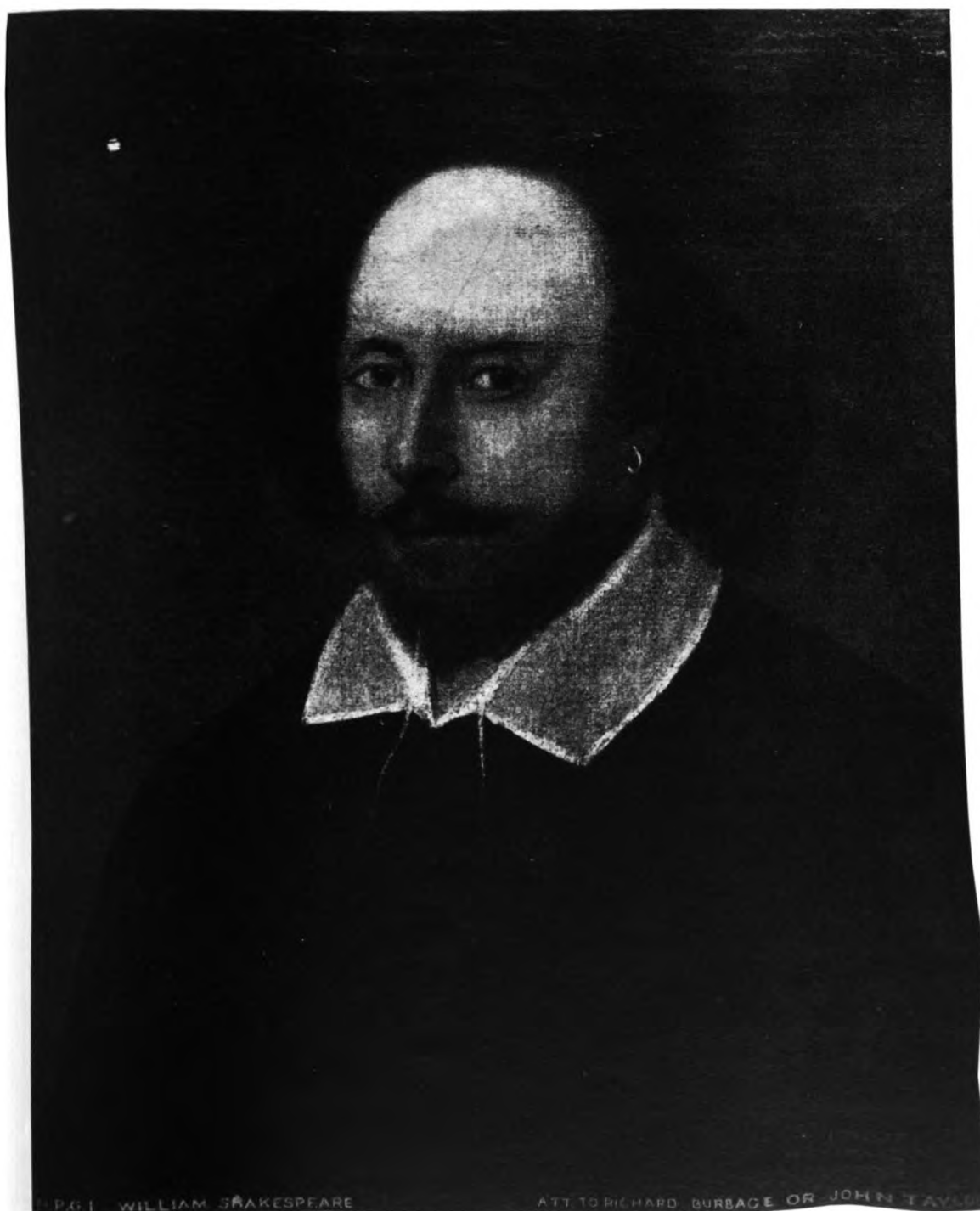
these, whilst undoubtedly of contemporary work, are self-refuting and should not be permitted to rank as portraits of Shakspeare ;

Thirdly, the medals, statues, busts and other ideal portraits, dating from the eighteenth century to the present time. These are chiefly based on the first section and their value is largely of an artistic nature only ;

Fourthly, a class altogether valueless, such as copies, or altered, concocted or spurious pieces, created to meet the greed of unscrupulous rapacity, or the vagaries of mental distortion, for even the most sacred objects cannot escape the touch of defilement.

With his portraiture in one form or another the average man is quite familiar. The continuous reprints of his plays, and the literature which accumulates around them, are generally accompanied by certain of his portraits ; and there is probably no celebrity of the past with whose personal appearance we are better acquainted. Taken as a whole, however, they are fairly good reproductions of those portraits which may be held to possess an authority which entitles them to our most careful consideration.

Amongst the numerous portraits ascribed to Shakspeare there are three which stand pre-eminent. These are :—1. The painting in oil, known as the Chandos portrait, presumably from life ; 2. The engraved head from the First Folio, 1623, by Martin Droeshout ; 3. The memorial bust in Stratford-on-Avon Church. The engraving and the bust were made at the instance of his family and life-long friends, who expressed approval of them, and therefore their fidelity as portraits cannot be questioned. Their several claims, however, will be considered later, but it may be remarked that although each is distinct in type and treatment, and severally expressed in colour, line and form, there is an absolute agreement and concordance in all essential features of portraiture, which go far to establish conviction that in them we have true and faithful representations of Shakspeare in his habit as he lived, and as he was seen and known by his contemporaries. Of course it is not



WILLIAM SHAKSPERE.

Photograph by Emery Walker.

THE "CHANDOS" PORTRAIT, FROM THE ORIGINAL IN THE NATIONAL PORTRAIT
GALLERY, LONDON.

for a moment contended that this identity of representation is displayed with the minute accuracy of a photograph, but that the general trend is uniform and concordant.

The CHANDOS portrait of Shakspeare is the best known and most generally accepted of those which claim to have been painted from life, and in this respect it stands of course upon a higher level of interest than any post-mortem or other transcript, for it brings us face to face with the original as nearly as the power of the limner would permit, and presumably also as he was willing to be known to posterity. It comes to us with an unbroken pedigree of ownerships of repute, that is strengthened by the repeated recognition of many well-known or distinguished persons. Its earliest associations are with poets, players and the stage, and therefore its unquestioned acceptance at the period of the Restoration was obviously due to a fixed belief in its authenticity, to which we may add the almost certain identification by survivors who may have been personally acquainted with the original.

The portrait is upon canvas, 22 inches by 18 inches in size. There are indications of retouching, but not to a very serious extent, nor so as to seriously interfere with its fidelity as a portrait. The late Sir George Scharf, writing in 1864, says :—

“The Chandos portrait is painted on a coarse English canvas covered with a background of greenish grey, rubbed bare in parts, a few parts of the face retouched and the hair darkened in parts; background a rich dark red, features well modelled, shadows skilfully massed, not unworthy Vansomer or Janssen, folly to name the artist, but remarkably good if the work of an amateur. . . . The hair, face and dress have suffered by unskilful cleaning, but the head is finely drawn and well coloured, the face has an expression of intelligence and vivacity, there is not a point in it leading us to doubt its veracity.”

In the seventeenth century it was said to be the work of Richard Burbage, the player, and a friend of Shakspeare. Burbage undoubtedly possessed considerable skill as an artist, and at Dulwich College there is a portrait which he painted of himself, and in treatment it is somewhat similar to the Chandos portrait, but perhaps not of equal quality as a painting.

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Vertue, the engraver, however, in 1719 distinctly says that this portrait was painted by "one Taylor a player, contemporary with Shakspeare and his intimate friend." Curiously enough, Taylor also traditionally shares with Burbage the honour of being the original Hamlet.

The painting is that of a man in middle life, attired in a dark coloured doublet, over which is a loose and unstarched linen collar. The face is a rather full oval, the forehead wide and high rising to the crown, the hair scanty at the top and dark brown in colour, falling in full wavy locks to the collar, short moustaches parted in the centre, with upturned ends, the beard clipped or trimmed to the jaw, but longer and brought to a point at the chin, with a tuft under the lower lip.

The eyes are large, full of intelligence, and fixed on the spectator, the eyebrows, however, only partly follow the well-arched lateral sweep of the orbits, a feature which is very noticeable in the bust, where it materially assists the harmonious composure of the face. The left¹ upper eyelid is also rounder than the right, which is longer and straighter, and this peculiarity is also reflected in the bust, where perhaps it is somewhat accentuated by the partial retooling of the right cheek in 1748. The nose is a well but strongly modelled aquiline, the nostrils being expanded and bevelled downwards to the central division, which in turn curves from the tip into the upper lip. The mouth is well formed, the lips being curved and rather full, especially at the centre.

The work of a later and less intelligent hand is much in evidence, but fortunately not so as to materially interfere with the fidelity of the portrait. We notice it especially in the shapeless bunching of the wig-like hair, and where the eyebrows are strengthened and shortened instead of following the curve of the orbit, and it is quite possible that the ear-rings may owe their origin to this period. Generally, the portrait must be regarded as a robust but quite natural and satisfactory presentment of the same original, who is shown in the Droeshout engraving and the Stratford bust.

This has always been regarded as the best known and most satisfactory portrait painted of Shakspeare. As early as in 1693

¹ The terms "left" and "right" throughout refer to the subject, not to the spectator.

Sir Godfrey Kneller made a copy of it, which he presented to his friend Dryden, the poet, but a very explicit and matter of fact statement carries it earlier still, namely, to Shakspeare's own contemporaries.¹ Vertue, the celebrated engraver and antiquary, in his manuscript notes, says of this portrait :—

“ Mr. Betterton [the player] told Mr. Keck several times that the picture of Shakespeare he had, was painted by John Taylor, a player, who acted for Shakespeare. This John Taylor in his will left it to Sr. Will. Davenant, and at the death of Sr. William, Mr. Betterton bought it ; and at his death Mr. Keck bought it, in whose possession it now is.”
I.e., 1719.

Whilst the portrait was in Betterton's possession it was engraved for the fifth, or first octavo, edition of Shakspeare's Plays, which was edited and published by Rowe the poet in 1709. To this edition was prefixed a short biography, enriched with much interesting matter which Betterton, who was an enthusiastic Shaksperian scholar, had gathered during his visits to Stratford.

Robert Keck of the Temple purchased it at Betterton's death for forty guineas—a high price for an historical portrait in those days—and from him it passed to a Mr. Nichols, who married into the Keck family. He in turn gave it to his daughter on her marriage to James, Marquis of Caernarvon, who afterwards became Duke of Chandos, hence its pre-nomen.

At the Stowe sale in 1848, the Earl of Ellesmere purchased it for three hundred and fifty-five guineas, and in 1856 presented it to the nation. It is now in the National Portrait Gallery.

From the date of its first becoming publicly known in 1709, when prefixed to Rowe's *Shakspeare*, it was immediately accepted as the most natural and satisfactory of the portraits, free alike from the stiffness and mannerism of the Droeshout or the conventional formality of the Stratford bust, and during the eighteenth century, especially, it was the basis and source of inspiration of innumerable copies, adaptations and idealities, in form, line and colour.

¹ George Vertue, born in London, 1684, died 1756. His voluminous manuscripts were purchased from his widow by Horace Walpole, and are now in the British Museum.

The life-size statue by Scheemakers in 1740, and those by Roubiliac in 1758 and later, the medals by Dassier and others, and the numerous portraits and illustrations to the successive issues of the Plays edited by Rowe, Pope, Theobald, Johnson and others, are examples of its preferential and continuous use.

A terra-cotta bust of Shakspeare, now in the Garrick Club, is not without interesting and significant associations. It was found in 1848 during the demolition of some old buildings which originally formed the "Duke's Theatre," Portugal Street, Lincoln's Inn Fields, first opened in London at the Restoration in 1660. Sir William Davenant, the projector and builder, also made it his home ; later it was in the hands of his friend Betterton, the great Shaksperian player ; Rich is said to have either altered or rebuilt it in 1714, but in 1756 it was converted into a barrack, and subsequently became a warehouse until it was taken down.

The bust and its companion of Ben Jonson appear to have been decorative features of the original entrance, and must therefore belong to a much earlier date than 1756, when during the alterations they would seem to have been walled up and forgotten. In the demolition that of Jonson was broken into fragments, which arousing attention enabled the "housebreakers" to obtain its fellow uninjured.

The bust is undoubtedly a fine piece of work, and evidently based on the Chandos portrait. In featural modelling, expression and pose, however, it shows much affinity to the Scheemakers and Roubiliac statues, and has been thought to be the work of one of these artists. But as the bust pertained to the theatre and not to the barracks, it must be anterior in date to 1756, and may well be the creation of some French or Italian modeller of the seventeenth century at the instance of Davenant for his then newly erected playhouse. In treatment of pose and portraiture the statues of 1740 and 1758, moreover, are not dissimilar, and may have been based on a pre-existent model such as this bust. It is also remarkable that whilst no contemporary or even old copies are known to exist, such a bust would appear to have given a conventionalised ideal of feature, expression and costume which contemporary artists generally adopted in preference to the obsolete but more correct fashions of the time.



WILLIAM SHAKSPERE.

Photograph by Emery Walker.

THE "DROESHOUT" PORTRAIT, FROM THE 1623 FOLIO.



Sir William Davenant, poet and playwright, was reputedly a natural son of Shakspeare, but he has other claims to remembrance, for when only ten years old, in 1615, he first invoked the Muse by writing an ode to his godfather Shakspeare. Later, in 1628, he wrote the first of his numerous plays. During the Civil War he fought with the cavaliers, became a lieut.-general, and was knighted; under the Protectorate he retired to France and was actively associated with a scheme for taking skilled artizans to Virginia, probably one of those promoted by Shakspeare's friend the Earl of Southampton, who also acted as treasurer of the Virginia Company; the connection being interesting. Whilst engaged in this work Davenant was captured and narrowly escaped death for treasonable practices. The good offices of Milton, however, saved him, a debt which at a later period and under reversed conditions he was able to repay.

He was evidently an adroit man of business as well as poet, for after his release by the Protectorate he was allowed, in 1656, to open a small theatre in Rutland House, Charter House Yard. At the Restoration he built the "Duke's Theatre," Lincoln's Inn Fields, the building in which, as we have seen, the terra-cotta bust of Shakspeare was found in 1848. Later, again, he built or opened the Theatre in Dorset Gardens, and for these houses he wrote over a dozen Tragedies, Comedies, and other Plays, besides assisting Dryden in recasting Shakspeare's "Tempest." As poet, playwright, and actor-manager, he figures as a far-away echo of his putative father. Dying in 1668, he was buried in Westminster Abbey, where his epitaph is inscribed, O, RARE SIR WILLIAM DAVENANT, which certainly, if an apostrophic exaggeration, felicitously rounds off a happy blending of poetry and romance.

The DROESHOUT portrait of Shakspeare is the engraving prefixed to the folio, or first collected, edition of his plays, published in 1623, about seven years after his death. It was the work of Martin Droeshout, a young Dutchman, employed by publishers to supply them with portraits and illustrations.

Droeshout was but a youth of 15 when Shakspeare died in 1616, and it is highly improbable that he could have prepared the draught

or original from which he engraved the portrait from life, therefore it is either copied from an unknown picture, or is a composition of his own for which he obtained the head from some authentic source, and then added the dress and pose to the best of his ability. The head, however, could not have been copied from the Stratford bust as the hair and beard are quite differently treated.

There are also other versions of a somewhat similar portrait, engraved by Marshall in 1640, and again by Faithorne in 1655, but as they all differ from each other in essential points, especially of costume, it may be that they are merely versions, either of the same original, possibly the Felton portrait, or some drawing or draught, as it was then termed, which either has not survived, or not been hitherto recognized.

Now, in the Memorial Gallery at Stratford-on-Avon there is a painting so closely resembling the folio portrait by Droeshout, as to be undoubtedly either the original from which it was taken or a contemporary or early copy painted from it. It is inscribed *Will^m Shakspeare*, 1609, and it has been surmised, and indeed contended, that this is the original of the engraved portrait and probably the work of Martin Droeshout, the engraver's uncle, who is known to have been a painter, and residing in London in 1608. There is good reason, however, to fear that those who, not unpardonably would read this into being a portrait from life, are misled into such acceptance more by its undoubted antiquity than guided by the cold light of critical analysis.

Comparison of the two side by side is certainly in favour of the engraving as a transcript from life. True, it is formal and full of errors of drawing in pose and dress, and in the management of light and shade shows an inexperienced hand. These technical defects and similar deficiencies are either corrected or do not appear in the painting; but in that the face is tame and almost expressionless, the featural detail being rendered with the usual elaborate inaccuracy of the copyist, which is especially noticeable in the chief points, such as the eyes, nose, and mouth. By covering each portrait, except a circle large enough to show these features only, the important difference of the two in quality is at once apparent. In short, whilst it is both possible and probable that the painter worked from the engraving, it is incredible that the

engraving could have been produced from the painting, were it only from its strong air of realism and vitality. The face has the true Shaksperian look, and the modelling is quite in agreement with that of the Chandos portrait and the Stratford bust ; but a somewhat differing general expression is due to treatment of minor detail, such as the eyebrows not continuously following the line of the orbits as they should, the moustache also being much slighter, the tuft of hair under the lower lip spread loosely out, and the lower jaw either shaven or close clipped. Apparent trifles such as these sometimes very seriously affect the recognition of portraiture, otherwise identical, and their curious and illusory effect will be further considered.

The proof, or impression, in an earlier state of the engraving, in the Halliwell Philips collection, shows the eyebrows more in conformity with the orbit, especially near the nose. This is more natural and correct than the heavy and somewhat shapeless sweep seen in the plate, and in other respects also the effect is slightly altered on the latter by strengthening or partially recutting the lines. Whether this was done by Droeshout or another is immaterial, possibly as first finished it may have been considered too slight for its position on the title page and the heavy work it would have to undergo in the printing. From whatever cause it may have arisen, however, its later form is not an improvement.

Young Droeshout engraved in a careful, but laboured and inartistic manner. His inexperience betrays itself, and in this example with a result which renders Ben Jonson's commendatory verses rather difficult to entirely accept ; but they undoubtedly do express not only his own, but a general recognition by the inner circle of Shakspeare's friends ; and as a portrait it *must* have strongly resembled him or it would not have been reused, in a "retouched" or strengthened form, in the subsequent edition of the folios.

Probably no contemporary knew Shakspeare so well as did Ben Jonson, and, to his honour be it said, that none so feelingly and gratefully expressed "this side idolatry," a loving appreciation of both his writings and personal qualities. These are his lines :—

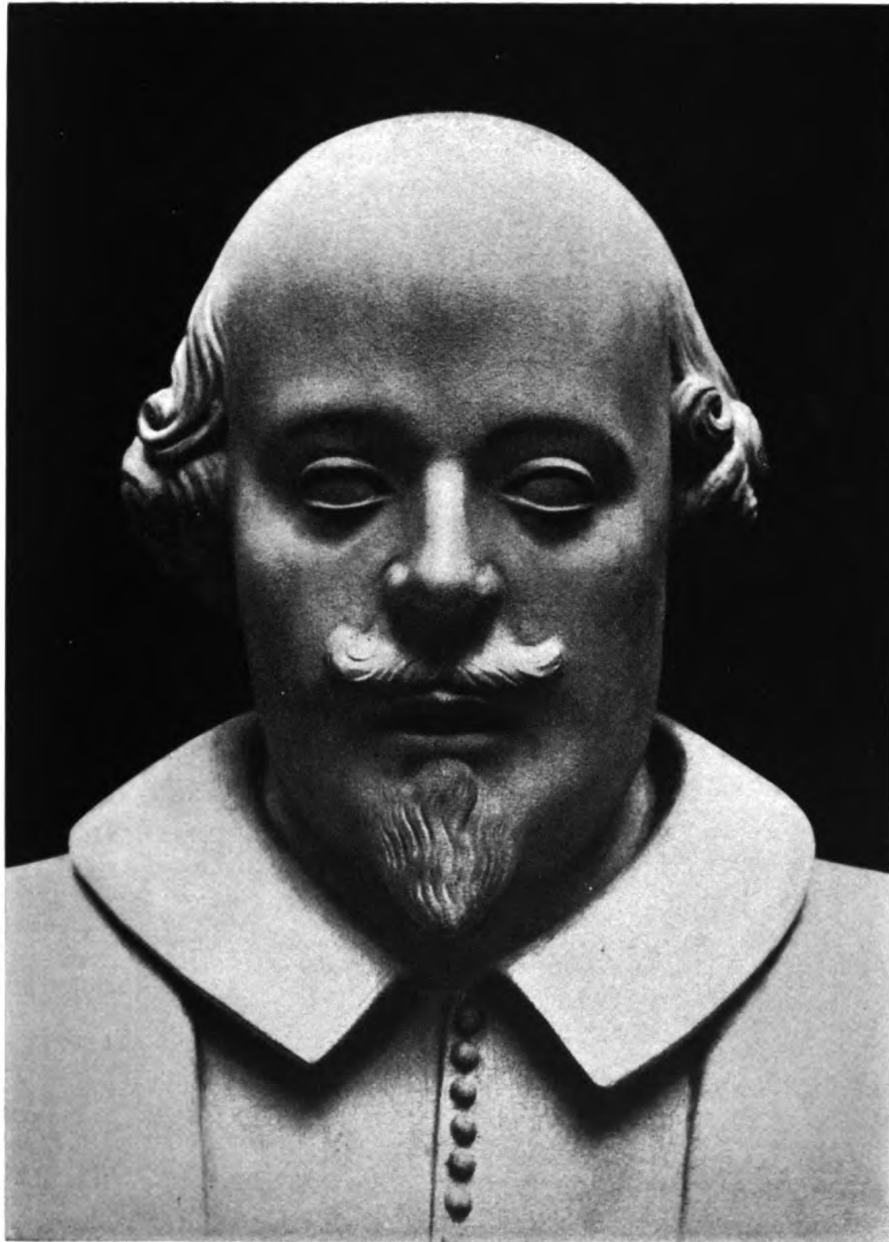
" This figure, that thou here see'st put,
 It was for gentle Shakespeare cut,
 Wherein the Graver had a strife
 With Nature, to outdo the life.
 Oh, could he but have drawn his wit,
 As well in brass as he hath hit
 His face ; the print would then surpass
 All that was ever writ in brass.
 But since he cannot, Reader, look
 Not on his picture, but his book." *Ben Jonson, 1623.*

Is it possible that the poet's reference to the "strife with nature" to "outdo the life" may be in sly allusion to the graver's laborious if somewhat futile effort to give intellectual vitality to an otherwise correct but inanimate "draught" ?

The Droeshout engraving, reproduced in the accompanying plate, has one advantage over all others, in that it was the portrait specially prepared, recognised and approved, by those who well remembered and knew the Poet best. No insinuation of tampering, substitution or suspicion of post-mortem realism can ever affect its integrity or fame, and we have it unaltered and just as his old friend Ben Jonson saw it when he penned his approving lines.

The STRATFORD MONUMENT is a large mural tablet of Corinthian architecture, built into the north wall of the chancel of Trinity Church, Stratford-on-Avon. Constructed of various coloured marbles and stone, it displays a circular-headed recess containing a half-length effigy of the poet. This is flanked by columns supporting the cornice, and a superstructure enriched with a carving of the Shakspeare arms, at the sides of which are youthful allegorical figures bearing various mortuary emblems. The epitaph, which curiously enough omits the Christian name, and states that Shakspeare is buried "within this monument," is in Latin and English, and inscribed upon an oblong slab of black marble below the effigy.

Taken altogether, the monument is a well designed and satisfactory piece of work, exactly expressing the taste of its period, probably of about the year 1620, when it was raised to his memory by his family



WILLIAM SHAKSPERE.

HEAD FROM THE BUST IN STRATFORD-UPON-AVON CHURCH.

(Full face.)

and friends. Interest of course mainly centres on the portraiture of the effigy which is of life size, half-length, seated and draped in doublet and gown.

By a happy inspiration the sculptor has given us the Bard as though arrested by a sudden thought whilst in the act of writing, for the penetrating glance of the eyes, and the slightly parted lips are dominated by a singularly sweet facial expression, over which a suspicion of smiling humour lurks like a passing sunbeam. The head is admirable, finely proportioned and sloping upwards with a beautiful curve from the forehead to the crown, whilst the contour of the face is a plump and roundish oval, somewhat massively modelled round the cheek bones and eyes, which latter are full, open, and frank in expression. The orbits are well expanded and their downward sweep materially assists the fine modelling of the temples, and blends the whole of the upper part of the face into an unbroken curve with the rather massive lower jaw and chin. The mouth also is proportionate with its delicately curved lips, which, slightly parted, give almost a speaking expression. The nose is a finely modelled aquiline, but certainly short in proportion to the features, or when compared with that of the other portraits. This has undoubtedly arisen through the injudicious paring during so-called "restoration," induced by a slight fracture of the extreme tip and a portion of the right nostril. A cast taken before this "reparation" shows the nature of the injury, and the improper method followed to obviate it. Of this retooling we will speak further, but it is well to remark that it was confined to the right half of the face, and that the left or more expressive half is substantially in its original condition.

But with all shortcomings, imaginary or real, the Stratford bust far surpasses other portraits in its expression of sweetness, tranquillity, and intellectual strength, and it would seem that the sculptor, aware of the greatness that lay quiescent before him, had struggled with his limitations, and by a happy chance caught a faint reflex of those qualities which Ionian chisels would have invested with a mysterious majesty. Whatever its defects, however, we have here at least, a conception expressive of individuality and great mental power, which is convincing if only from its unassuming and dignified realism.

Hitherto its posthumous nature has not been questioned, but surely this is an arbitrary and gratuitous assumption, for although it is highly probable that the actual effigy was made after death, yet it is by no means unlikely that Jansen the sculptor may have modelled the face, or even the entire head, from life.

Let us consider the probabilities. Shakspeare, especially during his later years, was intimately associated with the Globe Theatre in Southwark, adjacent to which he is also said to have resided, in 1596, "near the Bear Garden," and this was also close to Jansen's atelier. From what we know of Shakspeare's companionable and even Bohemian nature, we may quite believe the somewhat vague tradition that the two were acquainted, nay, the very nature of the sculptor's art with its picturesque creativeness would appeal especially to the poetic mind, and Jansen may have cut many a "monumental sire in alabaster" whilst the master spirit of the age admiringly looked on. Jansen, moreover, would scarcely have been the good man of business we estimate him, to say nothing of other and less sordid reasons, had he failed to secure in a satisfactory form such excellent "copy" available, as it would be, for a variety of uses.

When the realism of the head, the bright, living look of the face, and the eyes so full of life and intelligence, are fairly and properly considered, we may far more reasonably regard it as based on a model from life, than as a mere revivification of features transmitted through a death-mask or similar vehicle.

Moreover, Shakspeare is said to have died of fever after a short illness, and this together with the custom of the time, would necessitate speedy interment. Who would there be at Stratford or in its vicinity capable of taking a cast, and London also was too distant for even a "post-haste" messenger to go and return with qualified assistance, before the shrinking and rigidity of death had effected a change too great to be concealed. In the features of the effigy we trace nothing of this kind, for all is healthy, smiling life, and the conclusion is irresistible that Jansen reproduced the living and speaking features of the man as he knew and talked with him.

So far as sculpture will permit estimate of age, the Stratford bust



WILLIAM SHAKSPERE.

HEAD FROM THE BUST IN STRATFORD-UPON-AVON CHURCH.

(Three-quarter face to left.)



is that of one in his youthful prime. Now in 1596, when Shakspeare and Jansen were neighbours, he would be about 32 years of age, and this somewhat confirms the writer's view that the post-mortem bust of twenty years later was carved from a life model taken about that period. It is also the youngest looking of his portraits, with perhaps the exception of the Droeshout, the others all being of a man considerably more advanced in life.

The sculptor of the effigy was Gerard Jansen, a Dutchman, who came to London in the year 1567, and seems to have found the soil congenial, for well on in the next century he was still hard at work with his five sons, four apprentices and an "Englishman." It was the age of effigies and theatric monumental extravagancies, and in the gratification of the taste Jansen and his sons, no doubt, found constant and profitable employment. As before mentioned his workshop was in Southwark, a little to the west of St. Saviour's Church, where it will be remembered Shakspeare's brother Edmund was buried.

Attempts have been made, especially of late years, to show that the monument in Stratford Church is either not that made by Jansen, or at least a much altered reconstruction of it. Also that the effigy is either an eighteenth century copy deviating greatly from the original, or that the original is rendered valueless as a portrait by mischievous and incompetent retooling.

These diverse contentions are chiefly based on a curiously grotesque illustration of the monument in Dugdale's *Warwickshire*, published in 1656, and a misapprehension of an absurdly overrated account of a certain "repairing and beautifying" done at the instance of some enthusiastic strolling players in the year 1748.

That a monument was erected at Stratford within seven years of the Poet's death is certain from the reference to it in the first collected edition of his plays, the folio, of 1623; and Dugdale's illustration is an attempt to represent it as he saw it in 1656. Now Dugdale was a careful and painstaking antiquary, but a poor artist, who also laboured under the difficulty of interpretation by draughtsmen and engravers of very unequal abilities; and posterity cannot too highly appreciate the patience, devotion, and skill which in such a discouraging time ventured

to brave the discomforts and dangers of travel in search of material, and afterwards face the successive harassment of engraver and printer in publication.

Comparison of his original pencil sketches with the plates, and these in turn with the buildings and monuments as they now appear, is very instructive, for the sketches prove in most cases to be mere rough draughts which one or other of his numerous engravers, Hollar, Gaywood, Vaughan, and others, dressed into form, their part of the work being done with neatness and fidelity, according to their lights, but no one acquainted, for example, with architectural or decorative detail can accept their quaint elaborations as more than a picturesque but very free rendering of the subject, of which the chief value now rests in its approach to reliability.

Dugdale in his diary, whilst collecting his material in 1653, writes, "Shakspeare's and John Combe's monument* at Stratford sup Avon, made by one Gerard Johnson," and the accuracy of this statement is confirmed by their similarity of treatment in many points, but had the assumed "reconstruction" of Shakspeare's monument been effected, the "restorer" would not have copied quaint or incorrect detail whilst modernising or recutting the effigy; moreover, the work throughout is early Jacobean in design and workmanship, and no trained eye could confound it with, or estimate it as, a production of the mid-Georgian period.

The fallacy, however, of the whole supposition becomes at once apparent on comparing the various early views of the monument, thus :—

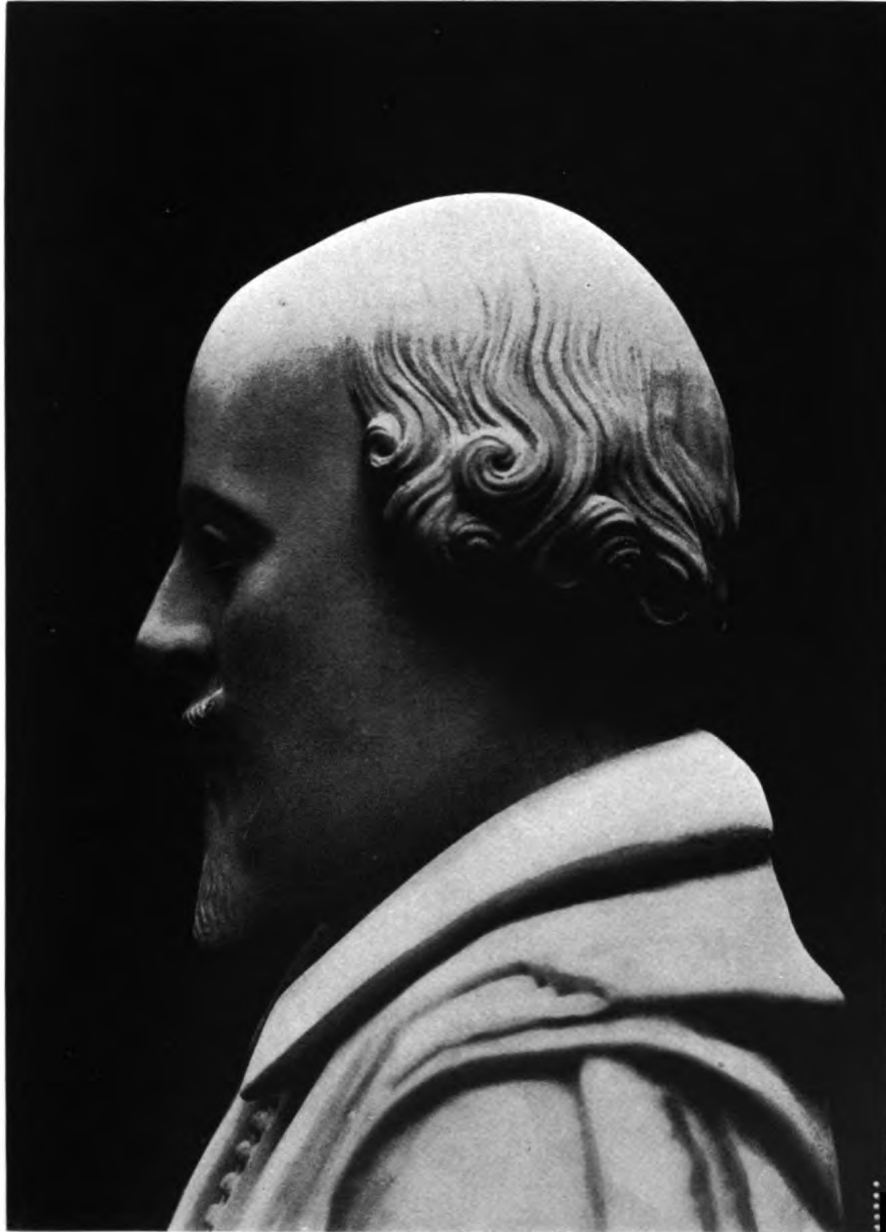
Dugdale, 1656.—No entablature to main cornice, but masks over columns; the arch of the niche is shouldered instead of resting upon imposts; the effigy a ridiculous caricature; the epitaph in italics.

Vertue, Rowe's edition, 1709. Copies Dugdale, with variations.

Vertue, Pope's edition, 1725. Shows the architecture as now existing, but introduces an effigy largely based on the Chandos portrait, and quite different from either Dugdale's or the present bust.

Gravelot, 1744. Copies Vertue's 1725 plate, but again alters the effigy.

Grigmon, 1786. Copies Vertue's 1709 version of Dugdale. Yet we



WILLIAM SHAKSPERE.

HEAD FROM THE BUST IN STRATFORD-UPON-AVON CHURCH.

(Profile to left.)



know that when Malone repainted the present effigy in 1798, it had not been tampered with in any way since 1748, and very slightly then, as we hope to show.

It is quite clear, therefore, that if any reconstruction or material alteration to the monument had ever been effected, it must have been done between the years 1709 and 1725, the dates when Rowe and Pope issued their editions of Shakspeare, and it is inconceivable that either of these would have allowed such an event as the reconstruction of his monument to pass unnoticed, or even the necessity for it to go without remark. Obviously Ward the player, in 1748, found it somewhat broken and decayed in parts, the marble stained and discoloured, and his well-meant efforts were directed, as his statement clearly says, to "repair and beautify" and nothing more. Moreover, careful scrutiny reveals many traces of these and later repairs, thus giving satisfactory proof that substantially the monument is that actually erected shortly after the poet's death.

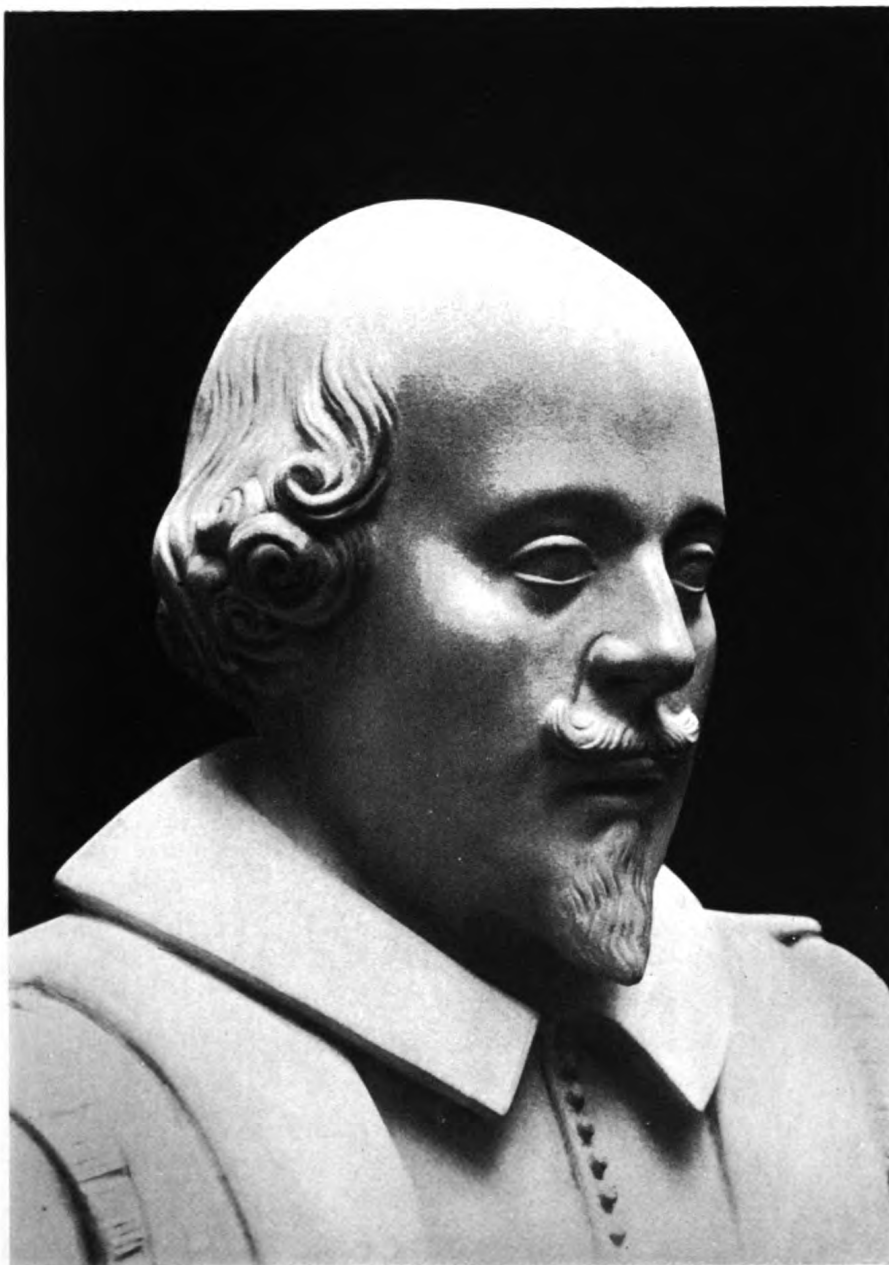
In the Memorial Library, Stratford-on-Avon, there is a plaster cast of the face only of the effigy, which is of the highest importance as showing the condition of the features, presumably previous to the repairs and retooling of 1748. Although nothing is known of its origin or history, it may well have been made at that time to serve as a guide for the carver, because upon it we see where a small but very serious fracture has removed the tip of the nose and a portion of the flange of the right nostril. The missing parts on the original should have been made good in hard-setting composition, and the subsequent repainting would have effectually concealed the injury. But instead of this simple method, the "restorer" stupidly increased the mischief by reshaping the injured part by shortening the nose and re-forming the flange of the nostril; and to further conceal the cutting down thus entailed, he partially retooled the greater portion of the right cheek from the moustache upwards to the eyebrow, and perhaps also the temple. The accompanying five plates of the head clearly show where this retooling has been done, for on the right side of the face the eyelids and eyebrow are cut upon harder or less sweet lines, and on a different plane to the left; whilst the nostril is higher and flatter, the

cheek also has lost its roundness, and altogether the expression is inferior and less happy and composed than that of the left, which, except where the general effect is injured by the shortening of the nose, appears to be as when it left the hands of Jansen. The restoration of the nose to the form shown in the Chandos and Droeshout portraits would at once correct the effect of chubbiness arising from its modern curtailment, and would add greatly to the strength and dignity of the head.

Delineators of the human face are well aware that the left side has almost invariably more force and character than its fellow, and it is a fortunate circumstance that this is the side which has escaped injury, being practically untouched by the restorer's tooling and scraping. This enables us to appreciate all that the sculptor could give us of the original.

At one time it was thought that the death mask so long preserved in the Vonkesselstadt family, of Cologne, was the original from which Gerard Jansen prepared his bust. It is a plaster cast made from a wax mould, taken from a wax cast produced from the original wax matrix of a face. The wax cast may have been prepared for a funeral effigy, according to the custom of the seventeenth century. It exhibits traces of the process of recasting, shows the pores of the skin, and still retains a few auburn hairs from the moustache and beard, which are embedded in the plaster. Whilst the plaster was still soft it was inscribed with a blunt point, "† A° DN 1616."

Gerard Jansen or his family are said to have returned to Amsterdam. The impending civil war may have caused this by bringing a business like that of a sculptor to a standstill. With them also would probably go much of their stock in trade, patterns, casts, etc., and amongst them, if existing, the mask of such a notable person as Shakspeare would not be without potential value, and traditionally also this mask is said to have been purchased from Jansen. It has a considerable although quite superficial resemblance to Shakspeare, but the features differ in many essential points, and the profile alone renders identity impossible. It must therefore be dismissed from the category of Shaksperian portraiture.



WILLIAM SHAKSPERE.

HEAD FROM THE BUST IN STRATFORD-UPON-AVON CHURCH.

(Three-quarter face to right.)

The writer obtained a number of very interesting outlines from an accurate cast of the head of the monumental effigy by applying narrow strips of thin sheet lead to the various contours and outlines. These when transferred to paper proved of much value in illustrating points of detail not otherwise obtainable. Some of them were as follows:—

1. Profile of face and head, from the chin upwards and over the head to the back of the neck.
2. The circumference of the head at level of temples, horizontally.
3. Contour of face at tip of nose, from ear to ear.
4. Contour round face, forehead, cheeks, and chin, vertically.
5. Contour of the arch of the head, midway between forehead and crown, from ear to ear, vertically.

The second outline is especially enlightening, as showing the inequalities and irregular outline of the skull; the left temple and round above the ear being fuller than the corresponding parts of the right side. Scientists have long been aware that active mental powers frequently cause irregular enlargements of the skull, generally on the left side; and Jansen's accuracy on this and other technical points, suggests that he supplemented his natural abilities by mechanical aids.

The attempt to give verisimilitude by "colouring to the life," questions of taste apart, should be directed from a higher standpoint than the mere application of colour; and its result in this instance is undoubtedly responsible for much of the hasty and superficial criticism which assumes the effigy to be a crude and inartistic production. The opinion of men eminent as sculptors, or familiar with the technicalities of art, who have closely studied the portraiture under exceptional conditions, must, however, in all fairness be preferably accepted by the unprejudiced mind. Thus the late F. W. Fairholt, F.S.A., was very favourably impressed by the excellence of the work, and believed the face, with the exception of the eyes, to have been sculptured with a singular delicacy; and he adds, "an intent study of the bust enforces the belief that all the manifold peculiarities of feature so characteristic of

the Poet, and which no chance could have originated and no theory account for, must have resulted from its being a transcript of the man."

Sir Francis Chantrey and John Bell, both sculptors of eminence, believed that the face was from a mask taken after death. This was because of its individuality and modelling.

Halliwell-Phillipps says that, "The bust when minutely examined contains expressions of individuality that render such a supposition"—*i.e.*, a fanciful likeness—"altogether inadmissible"; and Britton, the antiquary adds, "It appeals to our eyes and understanding with all the force of truth."

The realism of the portraiture, so patent on close observation, was in the earlier years of the nineteenth century generally referred to the medium of a post-mortem cast, but with its almost inevitable limitations, such as shrinkage and change or loss of expression, corrected only by the restorations of the sculptor, the difficulties in ordinary cases are obvious.

For reasons before stated, however, it is not improbable that Jansen has given us an actual presentment of the living man at an active and earlier period of his life, and before the gravity visible in the Chandos portrait had subdued its *joie de vivre*.

The present parti-colouring of the effigy dates from the year 1861, when Malone's coating of white was removed and the original colours restored, so far as they could be ascertained. If these are reliable we may observe that the Bard was fresh complexioned, with brown or auburn hair, but the featural colouring is altogether unsatisfactory, the eyebrows being improperly lined and the eyes staring and expressionless, quite at variance with the strength and composure of the modelling and destructive of true realism. Points of minor importance, such as the costume, are apparently correct, and from it we note that the doublet is red, and probably represents the official dress provided for him in 1604 as chief of the King's company of players. This is partly covered by a loose and sleeveless black robe, whilst the cushion upon which he is writing is of two colours, green above and red below, with gold tassels. The general effect in consequence is artificial to a degree.

In the painting known as the STRATFORD portrait, he is shown in a dress of similar fashion and colour, but this, as a work prepared from the monument probably for Garrick's Jubilee Celebration, is valueless as a portrait.

The effigy, which is carved in a soft bluish limestone, no doubt was always "beautified" with colour, and as paint is an excellent preservative when applied to stone, it is difficult to see how it could have been affected by corrosion of damp or other decay. The injuries therefore referred to in 1748 must have been the effect of accident or wanton mischief, and these excepted it was probably very much as when erected. When Malone in 1798 had it painted white to efface the theatrical colouring of Ward, he was quite in accord with the correct canon of taste, which, refusing any type of realistic colouring to sculptured portraiture, invariably leaves the marble untouched; or when the figure is of inferior material, such as stone or composition, endeavours to obtain a similarity of effect by finishing the surface a dead ivory white. Sculpture has the quality of being distinct and complete in itself, and rejects all adventitious aids as interfering with expression, form, and contour; and were this effigy finished in a similar manner it would, especially when mellowed and toned by time, assimilate better with its surroundings, display its quality, and look more natural and dignified than any other treatment short of actual replacement by a facsimile in bronze or marble. Taken altogether, the monument has escaped material injury from the hands of time and friends, quite as well as others of its kind in the same building. Restoration has no doubt been requisite at times, as in 1746, when decayed portions of the architecture were renewed, parts of the right hand, the finger and thumb, with the pen, which were missing, were replaced, and the parti-colouring was also renewed. In 1790 the restored parts of the right hand were again missing, and again replaced, and of late years the pen has been so frequently "borrowed" that a real quill is periodically supplied. In 1798 Edmund Malone, the critic, induced the then Rector to paint the effigy entirely white, but this coating in turn was removed in 1861, and the original colours so far as they could be ascertained were renewed.

The proper conservation of the monument in the future is a matter also which calls for serious attention, and the present paper may be opportune in suggesting greater vigilance in its care than heretofore. That it has escaped hitherto with comparatively little injury is fortunate indeed, but that such good fortune will continue should not be calmly assumed. The vicious or other irresponsible person at any time may do irreparable damage, and were this, the most precious of our monuments, to suffer in consequence of our over-confidence, we should be judged, and rightly so, as unfit custodians of a trust which belongs not to us only, but to all the world, and for all time.

Again, how often are churches and similar edifices damaged or destroyed by fire, even when more efficiently protected than that at Stratford-on-Avon? The carpentry and other woodwork in old buildings are dry and inflammable with age, and most difficult to extinguish when once alight. Careless workmen or imperfect heating or lighting, storms and lightning, are all factors that may arrive at any moment and leave their mark for ever. The very material of the effigy itself also is against escape, for the limestone of which it is made pulverises under fire or intense heat. In the event of such a catastrophe regret no matter how sincere, is a poor substitute for the virtue of foresight. Foresight, if judiciously exercised, would take immediate steps to avert or minimise any peril of this kind.

The effigy should be reverently removed from its niche, and carefully cleaned by skilful hands of every particle of paint. This should be by a solvent and not by scraping, rubbing, or any method likely to disturb the original surface of the stone. If this were done, any defects, replacements, marks of retooling, etc., would be readily detected, and possibly some debated points might be made clear to doubting minds.

Further, advantage should also be most certainly taken of the opportunity to obtain an accurate and scientific mould of the original, for authentic reproduction in bronze, terra-cotta, and even plaster, so that no unforeseen disaster whatever could deprive us of the most valuable of its qualities, the portraiture. At present there is no facsimile of the exactitude and authority its high and enduring interest demands, but the preparation of a mould under such favourable conditions



WILLIAM SHAKSPERE.

HEAD FROM THE BUST IN STRATFORD-UPON-AVON CHURCH.
(Profile to right.)

would be a ready, simple, and comparatively inexpensive affair, that would also create the power for infinite and most welcome reproduction.

It is a strange example of national shortsightedness that, whilst our art galleries possess copies in metal of similar monumental effigies, the most interesting and important of all should be overlooked or insufficiently appreciated. In the National Portrait Gallery we have numerous admirable reproductions in metal of royal, noble, and other eminent persons, but we look in vain for that of Shakspeare who, save by the Chandos portrait, is merely represented by a miniature model of the monument.

Were this effigy adequately reproduced in bronze its perpetuation would not only be assured, but the galleries of great educational centres would be enabled to possess authoritative facsimiles of the original, which could be examined and studied without that feeling of irreverence, which cannot be avoided when the original is touched. Copies such as these, moreover, would be free from the ridiculous and disconcerting colouring which now defaces and obscures the beauty of the effigy ; would allow its sweetness, strength, and beauty of modelling fair play, and perhaps, but this is an aspiration, give enlightenment even to those who hitherto have found in it nothing but crudeness and offence.

The general agreement and, indeed, almost identity of modelling in the three principal portraits of Shakspeare which we have considered, is so close that were their authorship unknown we might almost accept them as the work of some one man, skilled alike in the use of the pencil, the burin, and the chisel.

Superficially looked at, it is true, they may appear to have little in common beyond general resemblance ; but this in a great measure arises from the different methods by which they are expressed, or the inability of many to discern the true points of portraiture. Comparison, however, from an equal point of view and in detail, feature with feature, proves their identity beyond question, and that they are not only portraits of the same person, but that the various artists were men skilled in apprehending and accurately delineating the featural detail of

the human countenance ; and there are traces also of the less obvious, but equally essential, characteristics which give life and expression to what otherwise is little more than mere cold correctness. We are fortunate, therefore, in the possession of portraits of Shakspeare which, without being masterpieces or faultless examples of their several kinds, are undoubtedly truthful and reliable presentments of their original.

It is important also that we are able to study them all from the same standpoint. The Chandos and Droeshout heads are almost identical in pose, and the Stratford bust not only permits a similar point of view but others which are most valuable as additional illustrations, enabling us to correctly estimate the agreement of all in outline, formation, and contour. Thus, whilst from the Chandos and Droeshout portraits we should conclude that the face was a full and roundish oval, the cheeks full and somewhat plump, the lower jaw square and firm, the forehead wide, high, and vertical, and rising towards the crown, we find all these essential points fully confirmed by the Stratford bust, whether viewed from the same plane, or in profile, or as full face.

In the three portraits expressed severally in colour, line, and form, we perceive an identity of feature and featural detail which is conclusive, as we have said, of their entire and absolute reliability as portraits of the same person. There is no note of dissonance throughout, and slight variations in minor points, such as the treatment of the hair or beard, etc., are merely transitory effects dependent on caprice or fashion ; and as the portraits belong to different periods of life, they are, if anything, confirmatory of independent origin, and therefore of corresponding fidelity.

The entire head is beautifully formed, and expressive not only of great mental power, but power of that kind which we are sure was requisite to make a Shakspeare. Over it sweetness and strength are writ large, the latter by its formation and capacity, the former by the continuous blending of curves and flowing lines which, slightly modified, repeat themselves in contour and profile, and it is in a great measure due to this unusual and fortuitous harmony of line, which makes recognition of identity either impossible or irresistible when potential portraiture is subjected to the test of comparison and analysis with them.

The eye, with its immediate surroundings of orbit and brow, is a feature of the highest importance in the governance of portraiture and the expression of power. In the Shakspeare portraits the eyes are well apart, large, rather full, well opened and full of penetration. The orbits are unusually spacious, and the wide margin between the eyelid and the brow is indicative of great reflective power. The upper orbit springs from the nose with a short bevel, and then arches and descends in a beautiful and unbroken curve deep under the temple ; thus at once increasing the height and width of the forehead, and reducing the apparent width of the face at the cheek bones. The cheeks also are rather round and full, and the blending of one curve with another in unbroken sequence materially contributes to effect that general harmony and repose, of feature, which is such a delightful characteristic of Shaksperian portraiture.

The orbit of the eye is closely followed and outlined by the eyebrow. Now in the Chandos portrait we perceive where improper cleaning and retouching have partially effaced and imperfectly restored the true line of the brow, but the original line, however, is sufficiently clear. The beautiful modelling of this part of the Stratford bust also is deformed by the colouring of eyes and eyebrow, the accentuation of which, untrue and shapeless, gives to the face that look of surprise which misleads superficial observers as to its true quality. The eyebrow in the Droeshout portrait is nearer the correct, and still more so is that of the Halliwell-Phillipps proof of the engraving ; but even in these it does not quite follow the true line, as it branches into the temple instead of following the orbit downwards. The Stratford bust in its modelling shows what the proper and harmonious line should be, and an exact reproduction of this bust in bronze would probably manifest this and other subtle points of portraiture more clearly than is possible by mere description.

To estimate what a really important part the eyebrow plays in facial expression, let the enquirer apply to any face brows differing even slightly in size, shape, or strength.

A handsome, well-formed nose is seldom found except with proportionate surroundings, and from the portraits we see that Shakspeare's was a well-modelled aquiline. Now the term aquiline is

generally made to cover every variety of the convex type, from that where the outward curve is almost imperceptible to the well-rounded "Roman," or the hooked "beak." These, again, whether thin or fleshy, pendulous or flat at the soffit, are all regarded as aquiline—of a kind. Shakspeare's, however, although rather strongly formed, is full of delicate modelling. The slightly rounded bridge sweeps with a gradual curve to the tip, and thence the central division continues with a downward curve to the upper lip above the moustache. The nostrils, as is usual with imaginative natures, are rather full, and flange upwards from the curved central division, giving a wedge-like outline when seen in front. Well proportioned, full and flowing in outline, the nose harmonises exactly with the other features of a countenance full of refinement and personal charm.

The mouth is well proportioned, the lips full and shapely after the manner of a "cupid's bow," whilst a slight fulness or protuberance of the centre gives an appearance of what has been happily defined as a "speaking mouth." It is interesting to note that this unusual formation is shown in all the portraits, and must therefore be regarded as a decided characteristic.

The upper lip and the nose are also more intimately connected than is common. As already remarked, the central division of the soffit between the nostrils descends with a quick sweep towards the upper lip, and each thus reacts on the other; the action of speaking, or closing the mouth, depressing the nose, which in turn gives a tendency to project and slightly part the lips. Observations from life show this to be a quite natural action, and that such persons frequently have the vertical depression to the upper lip and the moustache parted in the centre, as shown in the portraits. Moreover, this interaction of nose and lip is never found associated with a deep upper lip, and Lavater says that a long upper lip is invariably associated with thin lips. The inference is therefore very clear.

Note also that the portraits show an almost entire absence of all wrinkles, lines, or creasing of the flesh. The Stratford bust, it is true, has a vertical line at the right side of the nose, but as this portion of the face is slightly retooled, we may preferably accept the other or left side as

the truer portraiture, and as being substantially as it left the hand of Jansen. Wrinkles generally make their appearance about the fortieth year, but if the usual slenderness of youth approaches a fuller habit of body at maturity, they are not so apparent as in the contrary condition. Temperament also has something to do with the absence of these and similar signs of age in persons of mature years, for though success in life is no safeguard from the touch of time, it is a material protector, especially when associated with self-control and an amplitude of mental power. Possibly Shakspeare in his youth and early manhood was of a slight and active physique, with a countenance more indicative of a pregnant future, than the observant tranquillity of the portraits of his later years with which we are so familiar.

Of his physical stature and bearing we have little actual knowledge, but the Stratford effigy in its modelling suggests a robust, and certainly not diminutive personality. The slight forward droop of the head is a pose not usually observed in monumental figures of this kind, although not infrequently seen in real life in men of meditative minds and literary pursuits, especially those who are rather over than under the average height. The impression conveyed by the entire portraiture, and emphasized by the effigy, is that of a vigorous and manly presence in which the union of physical and mental strength is most happily expressed. Aubrey, one of Shakspeare's earliest biographers, who gathered much interesting information from old or contemporary players, in his notes taken between the year 1669 and 1696 writes, "He was a handsome and well-shaped man, very good company, and of very ready and pleasant and smooth wit."

There is a wide distinction to be observed between the portraits of Shakspeare and those which may be classed as Shaksperian portraits. The former in every detail possess an identity which the most drastic analysis only brings into closer connection; whilst the latter are merely exotic offshoots resolving themselves into accidental likenesses or resemblances more or less remote, and beyond and outside these again there hovers a sinister cloud of concoctions and similar impostures unworthy of serious consideration.

Authority or pedigree, save in the three principal examples which we have discussed at length, is entirely absent, for that arising a century and a half after the period of production is practically of no more value than if of to-day, and one and all must stand the test of internal evidence alone. In short, granted that the work is contemporaneous, its value as a portrait of Shakspeare must be exactly in proportion to its agreement in all essential points, with those of which the authenticity is beyond question.

Amongst the reputed portraits of Shakspeare we may briefly note the following :—

The FELTON portrait appears to be a genuine old painting, although nothing is known about it previously to its discovery in the year 1792, when Stevens and other literary critics remarked its affinity to the Droeshout engraved portrait. The features and facial modelling are quite in accord with the accepted portraits ; the expression also is very intelligent and life-like, but the face appears thinner and more elongated in outline, through the upper part of the head being unduly lengthened from the forehead to the crown.

It is not impossible that Droeshout made the presumed draught for his engraving from this portrait, especially as the “set” and plane of the features and their form are the same ; the collar also is similar, but he has altered the plain dress to an ill-fitting embroidered doublet. Inscribed on the back of the picture is “Gul Shakespear 1597 RB,” possibly Richard Burbage ; but whoever the artist was he apparently painted from life.

The JANSSEN or SOMERSET portrait of Shakspeare is an attractive and well-painted head, which many critics have long regarded as the best of his portraits, and the work of Cornelius Janssen. Of authoritative pedigree it may be said to have none, for although a faint aroma of tradition connects it with Prince Rupert, its actual recognition or ascription as a portrait of Shakspeare dates from about the year 1770, whilst in the collection of Charles Jennens, of Gopsal. The Duke of Hamilton acquired it in 1809, from whom it passed by marriage to the

Duke of Somerset, and by a similar transference to the Ramsdens of Bulstrode Park, to whom it now belongs.

Like all the Shakspeare portraits, it has frequently been engraved, and with greater success than most of them. Comparison, however, shows how little the best have caught of the exact portrait, or the spirit and expression of the original ; but in this respect the camera surpasses the copyist, just as the true artist surpasses both. The portrait has a striking but quite superficial resemblance or likeness to Shakspeare, or to those of his portraits which have the highest authority. On comparison, however, this resemblance fades and the dissimilarity of features and facial modelling is quite apparent. Thus the face in this portrait is long and narrow instead of being a roundish oval, the eyes are small, half closed, and peering, whilst their orbits are rounded next the nose and curve laterally, in place of the bold downward sweep so patent in the others. The nose is unduly long and thin, with small compressed nostrils, flat at the soffit. The mouth, surmounted by a slight moustache, is almost without expression, whilst the lower jaw appears weak either in formation or drawing, and the beard is closely clipped and pointed at the chin. The expression generally is not Shaksperian, but that of a quiet and passionless man, the antithesis of the robust intelligence so remarkably patent in the Stratford bust.

The doublet, although more richly embroidered, is very similar in pattern to that in the Droeshout portrait, and, curiously enough, both show something of the same error of drawing. Were the rich lace collar, which somewhat disturbs the repose of the face, replaced by a stiff round collar, like that of the Droeshout, it is probable that the essential difference in the portraiture would become even more apparent.

Experienced critics pronounce it the work of a facile pencil, and it is generally attributed to Cornelius Janssen, but as it is inscribed "Æ 46 · 1610" Janssen would then be only seventeen years old, and, moreover, he is not known to have arrived or painted in this country before the year 1618. The age, forty-six, also is not without suspicion of alteration to coincide with the date. Altogether it is an interesting example of the essential difference of portraiture and likeness.

The ASHBOURNE Shakspeare is a very fine three-quarter length life size, which in many featural points answers to the undoubted portraits, save that the face is somewhat thinner in modelling. The figure is habited in a doublet of dark coloured material, apparently velvet, the waist being encircled by a gold embroidered belt. The right hand, which rests upon a skull lying on the table, holds a small and richly bound book, whilst the left grasps a gold embroidered glove. At the top corner to the left is inscribed in two lines "ÆTATIS · SVÆ · 47 · A° 1611." The picture is painted upon canvas, $47\frac{1}{2}$ by $37\frac{1}{2}$ inches in size, and has been relined, cleaned, and "restored"—as is testified by the bareness of certain parts. It was purchased as an unknown portrait about the year 1845 by the Rev. C. V. Kingston, of Ashbourne, Derbyshire, hence its title, and is one of those portraits, the advent of which to public notice is from the dealer's hands "sans phrase."

The LUMLEY Shakspeare is a poorly executed but early portrait, which greatly resembles the Chandos in type, although the face is that of an older and more careworn man. From the drawing of certain parts, especially the forehead, which is unduly low, it would appear to be an independent work, and the featural modelling is generally correct. There is some slight but uncertain evidence that it was in the possession of Lord Lumley, of Lumley Castle, Durham, about the year 1609. Comparison of the forehead of this with the "Felton" portrait shows a want of accordance which may be partly due to the pose of the head or to faulty foreshortening in the colouring; but, apart from this, there is an evident want of accuracy in the drawing.

It is curious to note how many of the portraits are either dated or centre round the year 1610. This was the period when Shakspeare had virtually finished his work, and was gradually abandoning London for the quiet and repose of the home he had created at Stratford. The various portraits, therefore, may be due to the desire of his many friends for some such personal reminder of him, but from whatever cause their evident multiplication arose, we may be sure it was not of his own initiation.

Apart from these authoritative, recognised or attributive portraits, there are quite a number which, whatever their quality as paintings, possess but very slight claim to attention as portraits of Shakspeare. Some are purely accidental likenesses, more or less remote, others are the product of commercialism or fraud, whilst many are either copies or altered versions of the Chandos portrait, called into existence during the early years of the eighteenth century, when the editorial labours of Rowe and Pope were creating a wider and higher appreciation of the Poet and his contemporaries. When we call to mind the taste for painted and other portraiture which then raged with such remarkable violence, the wonder is that these replicas, varied copies, or adaptations, are not tenfold in number and of far higher quality as works of art.

That Shakspeare may at some time in his earlier years have set foot on the Continent, and by land or sea got so far as Venice and other cities of Northern Italy, is not at all improbable, for we find that owing to the plague raging with extreme violence in London, especially during the years 1592 and 1593, by Royal proclamation all the playhouses were closed to avoid the risk of contagion, and the companies fled to distant parts, many to the Continent; and Shakspeare, whom we know was not a "home-keeping youth," is more likely than not to have been with them, especially as some of his finest Italian plays, such as "Romeo and Juliet" and the "Merchant of Venice," were written either then or in the immediately following years. Moreover, the expressed opinion of many of those who have travelled in other lands than those of romance, declares that his writings show such an intimate acquaintance with obscure details of the continental everyday life, local travel and characteristics, especially of Northern Italy, as could not be culled by enquiry, or gathered from existing books of travel, but must have been the fruit of personal observation. The possibility is thus opened that Shakspeare may have been painted by artists who never visited England; and personally we know by friendly intimation and reference that he was just the kind of man whose external appearance and mental gifts would appeal strongly to the Italian nature, which always welcomed and kindly entreated the artistic temperament. Italy,

moreover, was the Mecca to which the brotherhood of art was unceasing in its devotion. Granted, then, the not unreasonable assumption of his presence, he therefore could scarcely escape delineation in some form at the instance of, or by the pencil of, those who would form no inconsiderable section of society at a time when literature and art were paramount. Further, it is surely a grave error to persistently narrow our conception of Shakspeare's personal appearance to that of the known portraits of his late years, or to expect that a more youthful delineation would be expressed in a similar form. Time was when he may have looked the Romeo of his dreams or memories, "with habit costly as his purse could buy," and who can prefigure the Shakspeare of his glowing prime? Perchance, therefore, unknown or misnamed, at home or abroad, there await us unrecognised the lineaments of a younger and more romantic Shakspeare than we are yet acquainted with, the work of some master of his art happily alive to such a fortuitous opportunity.

Collectors of old drawings or early engraved portraits are well aware that many of the latter are from pen or pencil, *ad vivum* draughts frequently, and these are the engraver's own work, but there are vast quantities of similar original drawings of which no engraved copy is known to exist.

Portraiture in the early part of the seventeenth century was an art so appreciated and popular that few persons of repute or position could escape such a form of recognition, save through poverty or personal objection. But, unfortunately, these slight drawings are generally without inscription or other clue to identity, except that furnished by the likeness or resemblance. In this respect they are on a par with most contemporary painted portraits, and it is to this inexplicable neglect that we owe the confusion and uncertainty which prevail in their attribution in the public and private galleries throughout the world, absolute recognition of subject or artist largely depending on the celebrity of the one, or style or mannerism of the other; and we may free ourselves from many perplexities if we occasionally accept them as painted by artists of note, who are known to have never visited this country, from similar draughts possibly by local artists. Moreover, a portrait, even when painted from life, may

amount to little more than a mere likeness, and possibly a superficial likeness at that ; whilst on the other hand a capable artist may, with full material, produce a faithful and altogether admirable portrait of one whom he has never seen. Well-known examples by Titian and other great masters show how, in such cases, they intuitively grasped all essential points of modelling and feature, and, supplying the technicalities of pose, light and shade, cast over all that vitality and realism without which portraiture, no matter how excellent its technique, is little more than a simulacrum.

Those possessed of old drawings, or drawings by the old masters, should go carefully through their portfolios in the hope of fortuitously recognising, perchance in unfamiliar aspect or guise, a possible presentment of Shakspeare. All portraits of the period in which he lived should be closely scanned, for it is apparent that a man aged from about thirty onwards, bearded or otherwise, perhaps fantastically attired according to the current taste, possibly in stage dress, and before time had thinned his flowing locks, would in appearance certainly have but little resemblance to the later portraits with which we are acquainted. Further, those portraits taken at different periods would not vary only with his age, but with the varying moods of such a highly sensitive and imaginative nature. Age is an effective abater of humanity, and what whilom beauty, contemplating her past presentment, has not sighed over "Time's effacing fingers." The span of life also, on the average, was shorter then than with us, and the ravages of years quicker in consequence. The subject offers a wide and interesting field for research.

Further, it is incredible that he should not have been bepictured during the twenty years of his almost constant residence in London. Contemporaries record that he was esteemed and beloved for his "most sweet nature," which apparently disarmed envy of his higher gifts. He was undoubtedly "a clubable man," the chief figure and esteemed associate of scholars and writers, to whom literature was a deity and the very breath of life. Friendship with men like these frequently ran into blended effort, and the warmth of the "Mermaid," and similar festive hostels, was not evaporated with the wine. At such times mere indifference, or even personal objection, would have little

weight against friendly importunity, and the possibility of not one but many such presentments outweighs the singularity of their absence ; and we may not unreasonably assume that Shakspeare may have been " drawn to the life " about his thirtieth year, for in 1591 he had written " Romeo and Juliet " in its earlier form, and his " Venus and Adonis " was circulating in manuscript, although not published until 1593. These apart, he was sufficiently well known to be publicly attacked by Greene in his *Groat's Worth of Wit* in 1592, and as warmly defended by Chettle in his *Apology*.

It is to be feared, however, that his prodigious mental activity, at and from this time forward, as evidenced by his writings of which, as Ben Jonson says, " he never blotted a line," may have left him little leisure, and perhaps slight inclination for the importances, such as portraiture, of smaller minds, which to his sweet and gentle nature may have appeared little more than " mere trivial fond records."

It would be of material assistance to the fortunate possessors of contemporary drawings, if, for instance, a number of suggestive portraits of Shakspeare were prepared to serve as possible types, the features being of course based on and adhering closely to the authentic portraits, but juvenated to various ages from twenty-five years onwards. In these semi-imaginary or transformed portraits the head might be close cropped or adorned with flowing locks, and variously capped or bonneted, the moustache and beard treated in the various styles then in vogue, the dress being varied and suitable to his age, position, or calling. To these facial presentments should be added, profiles, outlines, and diagrams showing the true formation and set of the features, with other detail uniformly to be found in the Chandos, Droeshout, and effigy portraits, with which on essential points all newcomers must necessarily be in agreement. If a series of such imaginary portraits were issued in an inexpensive form, or even better still, in the pages of some widely circulated illustrated paper, it might result in discoveries of surpassing interest, and in any case it could do no harm.

In the Memorial Gallery at Stratford there are several drawings which the late Sir George Scharf prepared on somewhat similar lines. In these the Droeshout portrait and the head from the Stratford bust

are both drawn to the same scale, about life size, and they can be severally subjected to the effect of transposed surroundings of hair and dress. The instantaneous effect on the spectator is for him to regard both more as resemblances or likenesses than true portraits, but this impression is speedily followed by entire recognition, the natural effect, of course, of featural identity.

An attempt was made by Mr. W. R. Furness in 1885 to obtain a composite portrait, by blending the Chandos, Droeshout, Stratford bust, Janssen, Felton, and Stratford portraits, but success is not to be found by any so mechanical a method, for the pose and drawing of each is varied, and cannot be exactly overlaid. Any interference with the features or facial expression is fatal to fidelity and realism, which to a portrait are as the breath of life.

The successful portrait painter is perforce a man of many parts, for mere technical mastery of line and colour will not suffice alone. It must be accompanied by insight or penetration of character and social gifts to awaken and call into play the mental powers of the sitter, who otherwise is apt to be constrained into unnatural gravity. The occasion is momentous and taken too seriously, hence the frequent "muteness" of that which should be a "speaking likeness." But the artist mixing his pigments "with brains, sir," calls into action and catches the intellectual vitality, without which the so-called portrait is little more than a simulacrum or lifeless mask. The happiest effect is often obtained in a rapid sketch by a master hand, and even caricature frequently supplies a more accurate and characteristic impression of the individual than the result of the slow and laborious effort.

In considering the question of portraiture, it is of much importance therefore to ascertain of what its chief value consists, and why undoubtedly faithful portraits of the same person are so variable in point of interest and reliability; for this necessarily must apply to all portraits, whether they be in line, or gradation of line and colour, or carved in various grades of relief, even to complete detachment from background.

In the identification of historical portraits we are perhaps rather too apt to look for typical affinity, if not actual identity, with those best

known and insensibly recognised as the ideal of the person, disregarding or forgetful of the inevitable changes arising from age or similar potent agencies. By way of realising how curiously these changes may affect portraiture, let us compare the various portraits of some universally known man, such as Charles Dickens. He was portrayed by the best artists during the last thirty years of his life, say from 1840 to 1870; yet the ravages of time and the vagaries of fashion are not more in evidence than is the distortion arising from the temperament or mannerism of the painter; and the crude fidelity of the camera is frequently more true to the outward man than the vagaries which modern art calls on us to accept as portraiture; mere welterings of colour, displaying it is true a certain facial correctness, but which otherwise are little more than the ineptitudes of the involuntary caricaturist.

Recognition of quality, that is artistic merit, in a painting is generally a matter of certainty, for its appreciation as such is neutral ground even to the most captious critic; but correct attribution is another affair, and we are rarely sure that the last word has been said, for the pendulum of current and ever varying taste sways the judgment, and pictures are consigned from school to school and from painter to painter with persuasive detail of fact and fancy, and certainly in all sincerity of conviction. There is hardly any national or important gallery of pictures which does not possess examples that most competent judges maintain are masquerading under names either greater or less than they are entitled to bear.

In portraiture this applies to an even greater extent, for in addition to difficulties of style and technique, there must be added that of personal identification, frequently a matter of the highest importance.

Now judgment in portraiture is largely dependent on an intuitive accuracy of perception, and given that, the faulty or wrongly attributed portrait speaks to one's instinct. Its very limitations even may be a proof of genuineness, but no recognition or acceptance is possible without rigorous comparison of structural and featural identity; and where these can be established and proved to be of genuine untampered and contemporary work, we may to a great extent

disregard outside objections as mainly sentimental and leave its destinies to time and critics yet unborn.

The satisfactory identification and absolute acceptance of a portrait some two or three centuries after its creation is almost an impossibility, for although by reason of its importance it may have been always more or less in the public eye, yet its especial identity cannot really be established by documentary evidence alone, for the original may have been destroyed, lost, stolen, "conveyed, the wise it call," or confused with another of the same personage; or, if the original, it may have been injured and "restored" by an incompetent hand. Thus the fine portrait of Richard II. in the choir of Westminster Abbey was, until quite recent years, absolutely lost under repeated repaintings, which travestied and effectually concealed the original, and we may with reason suspect that similar "beautifyings" have transferred many others, of interest as portraits and valuable as works of art, to the dumb forgetfulness of the unknown.

Those conversant with the vicissitudes of pictorial art are well aware of the "finds" of examples by the older masters which are constantly taking place. Past, or even remote, ownership is frequently traceable, but in most cases the sole and best proof of authenticity is in the recognized quality of the work itself, which is justly regarded as altogether higher and more satisfactory than any coincident or other genuine but quite fallible record.

Quality in portraiture, valuable as it undoubtedly is, however, is of less importance than certainty of identity, but where the two are combined and further strengthened by contemporary evidence, then of course the last word is said. In early portraiture, however, great excellence is not to be looked for, especially in examples dating three centuries ago, and of which nothing is otherwise known.

It is manifest, therefore, that when a newly discovered portrait, bearing a striking resemblance to some celebrity, is found to be of genuine and contemporaneous work, it should be welcomed as a potential portrait at least, although there may not be a shred of evidence connecting it directly with the assumed original.

A portrait is not necessarily of high value, moreover, because it is

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known to have been painted from life, unless the artist has apprehended and shown the inner man whilst delineating physical features. Confusion of identity is often due to inferior or lifeless portraiture, but where mind and matter are adequately expressed it argues weakness of judgment to greatly rely on other, and possibly fallible, testimony in preference to that which practically defies contradiction.

When an old portrait strongly resembling some well-known personality emerges from obscurity, its claims to identity can only be allowed after passing the closest scrutiny, in the course of which no competent judge will allow his opinion to be biassed by anything outside the evidence supplied by his subject. All else is comparatively foreign to the matter, provided the portrait proves to be a genuine piece of untampered and contemporary work, essentially resembling in facial modelling and featural identity the best portraits of the person of whom it is said to be a representation. Granted these conditions, then whatever of technical knowledge or acumen the critic possesses will declare itself in the clearness and accuracy of his judgment.

The portrait prefixed to this paper is ascribed to Shakspeare, because, although almost hitherto unknown, it presents a resemblance to him which becomes the more striking when its facial and featural modelling are intelligently examined. Viewed as a portrait only, it is a vigorous piece of realism, painted with the broad free brush of an experienced hand, upon coarse canvas of old English web, $22\frac{1}{2}$ by $18\frac{1}{2}$ inches in size.

When relined at some remote period it would appear to have been in a decayed, or rather dilapidated, condition, as the edges of the canvas are broken and irregular. The colouring, however, is generally sound and untouched, but its richness and quality is marred by the coarse and unequal varnishing. Probably, when this "restoration" was effected, about a century ago, it was by some unprofessional and inexperienced hand, whose work, imperfect as it is, fortunately did but little actual injury, and which at the present for obvious reasons it would be inadvisable to amend or interfere with in any way.

The general appearance of the portrait is very closely and faithfully rendered in the plate, which the photographer, Mr. Arthur P. Monger,

of Chancery Lane, experienced as he is in similar reproductions, obtained only with great difficulty owing to the obscurities caused by the irregular varnishing.

The head is life-size, turned a little to the right of the spectator, upon whom the eyes are fixed with remarkable intelligence and expression. The general modelling of the face and features is quite in accord with that shown in the Chandos and Droeshout portraits and the Stratford bust. An aspect of massiveness arising from the general formation, the great width of the forehead and fulness at the temples, is balanced by the firm lower jaw, uniting in an outline approaching that of a roundish oval. This, however, is somewhat tempered by the pointed beard, which subdues the fulness of the lower part of the face and gives an effective finish to the countenance. The eyes are especially powerful, large, well opened, and full of penetration and expression, the axis of each, as in the Stratford bust, ascending slightly towards the nose, and the deep flange between the upper lids and the eyebrows being noticeable. The orbits are very large, and springing from the nose with a short bevel, they curve round the top and continue with a bold unbroken downward sweep, which, uniting the curves of the nose and temples, greatly assists to give that air of sweetness and strength which is the dominating expression of the face.

The nose is a well-modelled aquiline, very delicately curved to the tip; the nostrils are full and expand upwards, whilst the central division runs from the tip in a curved line into the upper lip, making a division in the moustache as shown in all the portraits.

The mouth is very sweetly shaped, the lips curved and rather full, especially in the centre. This peculiarity, as previously explained, is an essential feature of Shaksperian portraiture.

The forehead is superbly modelled, spacious, high and full at the temples, which spring vertically from the cheek bones, whilst the upper part of the head, which is almost devoid of hair, ascends from the forehead with a beautiful curve to the crown, and is remarkably expressive of capacity and mental power.

The hair, very thin, if not absent at the top of the head, falls in long, full and slightly curling rolls almost to the neck, and like the

moustache and beard is slightly tinged with grey. The moustache, which is parted at the centre, has a curiously stiff twist, and is turned up at the ends. The beard is pointed at the chin and has a small tuft under the lower lip, whilst the hair on the lower jaw is short, apparently clipped, but not closely. Moustache and beard are exactly as seen in the Stratford bust, but as the face there is otherwise shaven, this portrait would seem to give an intermediate stage between that and the Chandos portrait, where the lower jaw is fringed with longer hair.

The general pose is quite unaffected and natural, and the dress in keeping, even to the careless, wrinkled, and unstarched collar, and the plain dark-coloured doublet.

The portrait undoubtedly represents an unusual personality, of great mental gifts and strong will. Its striking resemblance or likeness to the accepted portraiture of Shakspeare, moreover, is not superficial, but is derived from an actual identity of facial and featural modelling, and in this respect the Stratford bust proved of especial value as allowing an exactness of comparison superior to all others. There can be no hesitation in accepting it as a true portrait of Shakspeare, delineated with great realism and fidelity, as he appeared in the daily round of life when approaching his fiftieth year.

The portrait was long the property of an old Lancashire family, by whom it was traditionally known as "The portrait of Shakspeare." On the decease a few years ago of the widow of the last survivor, Dr. Ashton, of Cuerdale, and the testamentary dispersal of the family effects by auction, it passed into the possession of the writer, unfortunately, however, without any other record of whatever history had hung around it in the memory of its whilom owners. Nevertheless, it speaks for itself, and with no uncertain utterance.

The medal here illustrated has the obverse prepared from this portrait, which the writer thought advisable to perpetuate in the most permanent form. The exactitude of its reproduction by Mr. Frank Bowcher, as will be seen by comparison with the frontispiece to this paper, is remarkable, and will be appreciated by all connoisseurs of medallie art. The reverse is a departure from the general rule,



THE 1911 MEDAL.

inasmuch as it gives a rendering of the Stratford bust, the head of which is shown in profile, as a relievo. The Muse of Poesy, Shakspeare's Muse, no attenuated grotesque, but a warm, free, and very human daughter of Olympus, is unconsciously laureating the head, whilst at her feet Puck is seated holding the Tragic and Comic Masks.

It is the peculiar glory of Britain that, were she henceforward to become but a name and a memory, it would be one of unapproachable splendour. As a maker of nations she has studded the earth with budding empires or those yet in the promise of a mighty youth, and her example and authority have established the principles of universal justice and liberty. But what a careless and forgetful, if prolific mother she has ever been to her best and noblest sons, leaving them as unconsidered atoms in the economy of nature to pass from remembrance almost "unwept, unhonoured, and unsung."

Thus it is that, with a myriad others, our Shakspeare, the supreme intellectual glory of Britain, has awaited for three hundred years his medallic apotheosis.

Time is the fell destroyer of all created things, for not a year passes but some irreplaceable historical document decays, or is injured, or vanishes for ever. Accident or wanton mischief may destroy the original at any time, and frequently at the best, copies are all that are left to us. Now, copies or reproductions, no matter how excellently or skilfully made, must perforce fail to some extent in securing the spirit and character of the original; and when successively produced may become at length a mere shadow or even caricature of the original.

By way of illustration, we may remember that statues and portrait busts made by the best Græco-Roman sculptors for Rome in its golden days, are admittedly inferior in artistic quality to the Hellenic originals, although in turn superior to the reproductions of the Renaissance. The deterioration is gradual but certain, for the subtleties of art escape the skill of the copyist, strive as he may, and mere laborious exactness, or manual dexterity, is an indifferent substitute for that vitalisation from eye or hand which has seen or touched the source of inspiration. The medallic form of memorial, therefore, is that which we must regard as the safest, best, and most perfect, and the only form also which, besides its artistic capabilities, lends itself to limitless duplication. Where now are the majority of the statues and portrait busts that were the delight of the ancients? Irrecoverably lost; whilst the image and superscription of countless despots, worthy or unworthy, still gleam undefaced upon the metal discs upon which they were impressed in their time, and are certain to so continue long after every human eye has closed in darkness.

The medallic memorials of Shakspeare, with some few exceptions, are not of the interesting character, nor such as we gladly would associate with his name. None are the expression of national appreciation nor tributes from great societies of art or literature; and whilst the best are due to social or individual effort, commercialism is largely responsible for the weedy and dispiriting majority.

They number about thirty, and from the first, cut by Dassier in 1731, cover a period of one hundred and eighty years to this present date. They are chiefly the work of British artists, but well-known names are apparently no guarantee of excellence, and many are certainly not even fairly representative of the by no means high quality of the nineteenth century medallic art; tame, dry and mechanical in conception and execution, from the standpoint of art also they are lamentably deficient in the initial qualities of invention and grace. Alas! they stand in melancholy contrast with the breadth and freedom of design, the felicitous combination of imagery and detail, which invest the work of the earlier medallists, with that fascination of sensuous abandon, of mediæval classicism, so expressively termed the Renaissance.

Art in the earlier school would seem to have found the circumference of its work almost too small a field in which to luxuriate its graceful imaginings, but the artist of a later date, now quite obsolete if not extinct, preferred a pseudo-classicism of frigid and unmeaning allegory, mechanically exact, but artistically little more than commonplace. Happily, at this present time, however, there is a promise of better things, a kind of afterglow, which in its frank and free appreciation of the virile and beautiful, unfettered by mere academic rule, may go far to revive the best traditions of medallic art.

The following chronologic list of the Shakspeare medallic memorials will give a general idea of their individual character, authorship, motive, and also the source whence their portraiture is derived, and whether in appreciative commemoration or as memorials of current events associated with his name in various ways.



THE DASSIER MEDAL, 1731.

MEDALLIC MEMORIALS.

The reference numbers are to *Medallic Illustrations* :—

No. 42. 1731 by Dassier. *Obverse*.—Half-length to right in slashed doublet and mantle, based on the Chandos and Droeshout portraits. "GULIELMUS SHAKESPEARE," an indifferent portrait, but of good work. *Reverse*.—A rocky landscape "WILD ABOVE RULE OR ART." Exergue: "NAT · 1564." Size 165.

Mr. Spielmann has a unique modern restrike of the obverse, the reverse having a wreath only, no inscription.

No. 43. 1769. Garrick's Stratford Jubilee medal. *Obverse*.—Bust to right, adapted from the Chandos portrait, "WE SHALL NOT LOOK UPON HIS LIKE AGAIN." *Reverse*.—"JUBILEE AT STRATFORD"

186 *Shakspeare's Portraiture: Painted, Graven, and Medallie.*

IN HONOUR AND TO THE MEMORY OF SHAKESPEARE" SEPT^r,
1769 · D · G · STEWARD. Size 1·2.

No. 44. 1777. Order of Shakespearians. *Obverse*.—Portrait to left, of Chandos type. "WE SHALL NOT LOOK UPON HIS LIKE AGAIN." "KIRK · F." *Reverse*.—"THE HONB^{le} ORDER OF SHAKESPEARIANS INSTITUTED JULY 11 · 1777." Size 1·4.

No. 45. 1803. The Boydell edition of his works, issued to subscribers. *Obverse*.—Full length of Shakspeare, the head of Chandos type, seated between female figures. HE WAS A MAN TAKE HIM FOR ALL IN ALL I SHALL NOT LOOK UPON HIS LIKE AGAIN—M B, (Matthew Boulton) "C · H · KUCHLER · F." *Reverse*.—Inscribed: "This medal representing Shakespeare between the Dramatic Muse and the genius of painting is respectfully presented to the person whose name it bears, in grateful commemoration of the generous support given by the subscribers to the great national edition of that immortal poet, by I · I · & J · N · BOYDELL and G & W · NICOL · 1803." Above, harp and olive branch on scroll, radiated; the name of the recipient engraved on edge. Size 1·85. The gold specimen now in the British Museum was presented to George III.

No. 46. 1816. Stratford Commemoration. *Obverse*.—Bust to left, from the Chandos portrait. SHAKESPEARE · WE SHALL NOT LOOK UPON HIS LIKE AGAIN · OB^r 23 · APRIL · 1616 · AET 52. *Reverse*.—Inscription: "Commemoration of Shakespeare at Stratford upon Avon. Stewards · Right Hon · The Earl of Guildford · Right Hon Lord Middleton, Sir Chas Mordaunt Bart M.P., Francis Canning Esq. April 23 · 1816." Size 1·85.

This medal has a gilt rim, with loop for suspension. It was probably the work of W. Barnet.

No. 47. 1817. Commemoration. *Obverse*.—As No. 46. *Reverse*.—Inscribed: "FLOREAT IN ÆTERNUM GOLGOTHA · A · D · MDCCCXVII · FEBRUENSIS · V ·" With gilt rim for suspension.

No. 48. 1818. Memorial. French work. *Obverse*.—Bust to left, based on the Chandos portrait, short, full beard, "GULIELMVS SHAKESPEARE" "BARRE · F" on truncation. *Reverse*.—"NATUS STRATFORDIE · IN · BRITANNIA · AN · MDLXIV · OBIIT MDCXVI · "Series Numismatica Universalis virorum illustrium · MDCCCXVIII · DURAND · EDIT." Size 1·6.

As No. 48. But with lighter beard.

No. 49. Ditto. With still lighter beard.

No. 50. 1818. Memorial. French work by Desboeufs. *Obverse*.—Bust to right, based on the Stratford and Chandos portraits, "WILLIAM SHAKSPEARE." *Reverse*.—Blank. Size 2.

- No. 51. 1821. Memorial. *Obverse*.—Bust nearly full face, apparently based on the Droeshout portrait of 1623. "WILLIAM SHAKSPEARE · BORN · APRIL · 23 · 1564 · DIED · APRIL · 23 · 1616." "Westwood 1821" on truncation. *Reverse*.—Scene from "As you like it" ACT II SC · I. Jacques seated near a stream where a deer is drinking, inscribed: TO THE WHICH PLACE A POOR SEQUESTERD STAG THAT FROM THE HUNTER'S AIM HAD TA'EN A HURT DID COME TO LANGUISH." Size 1'85.
- No. 52. 1824. Shakespearian Club established. *Obverse*.—Portrait to left, based on the Stratford bust: "WILLIAM SHAKSPEARE BORN APRIL 23 · 1564 · DIED APRIL 23 · 1616." "T · W · INGRAM · D." *Reverse*.—Shakspeare seated and writing upon a scroll, and laureated by History or Fame: "WE SHALL NOT LOOK UPON HIS LIKE AGAIN." "SHAKSPEARIAN CLUB STRATFORD UPON AVON ESTABLISHED APRIL 21 1824" "T · W · INGRAM · BIRM". Size 1'6.
- No. 53. 1827. Jubilee. *Obverse*.—Bust to left, from the Chandos portrait, with doublet and mantle. *Reverse*.—Inscribed in centre: "JUBILEE STRATFORD UPON AVON APRIL 1827." Around are the names of his plays. Size 1'75.
- No. 54. 1827. Commemoration. *Obverse*.—Bust to right, based on the Stratford effigy, "SHAKSPEARE · WE SHALL NOT LOOK UPON HIS LIKE AGAIN." *Reverse*.—Inscribed: "In commemoration of the birthday of the immortal bard of Warwickshire at Stratford upon Avon · April 23 · 1827." 3 sizes, 1'5, 1'7, 1'25.
- Circa* 1830. *Obverse*.—Statue of Shakspeare, long inscription. *Reverse*.—"This humble token," etc., inferior work.
- No. 55. 1842. Commemoration. *Obverse*.—The Stratford bust, WILLIAM SHAKSPEARE · DIED APRIL 23 1616. *Reverse*.—View of his birthplace at Stratford-on-Avon, previously to its restoration. Inscribed: BORN APRIL 23 1564. In exergue: 1842 · H · H · YOUNG · D · W · J · TAYLOR · F. Size 1'5.
- No. 56. 1844. Memorial. *Obverse*.—Bust to left, based on the Chandos portrait. "GULIELMVS SHAKSPEARE." "BARRE F" on truncation. *Reverse*.—Sceptre and sword crowned, with mask, wreath above. Inscribed: BORN AT STRATFORD ON AVON IN 1564 · DIED IN 1616—1844. Size 1'6.
1847. The Birthplace Memorial. *Obverse*.—Bust to left, based on the Chandos portrait, "WILLIAM SHAKSPERE." *Reverse*.—View of the birthplace before restoration. "THE HOUSE IN WHICH THE IMMORTAL BARD WAS BORN, AT STRATFORD UPON AVON · 1564." In exergue, "ALLEN AND MOORE · 1847."



THE BEAUFOY MEDAL, 1851.

- No. 57. 1851. City of London School. Beaufoy prize medal. *Obverse*.—Head, from the Stratford bust, in profile to left, "WILLIAM SHAKESPEARE BORN · APRIL · 23 · 1564 · DIED · APRIL · 23 · 1616." "BEN' WYON SC." *Reverse*.—Group of characters from the plays. Prospero and Ariel, Cardinal Wolsey, Lady Macbeth, Falstaff, and Henry V. Inscribed: "CITY · OF · LONDON · SCHOOL · SHAKESPERIAN · PRIZE · FOUNDED · 1851 · BY · HENRY · B · H · BEAUFOY · F.R.S. Born April 23 · 1785." "B WYON SC" on edge. Size 3.

These medals are seldom awarded, four only having been given between 1853 and 1885.

- No. 58. 1864. Tercentenary. *Obverse*.—Head from the Stratford bust in profile to left, below his autograph within a wreath; around the head the names of his plays HUNT · AND · ROSKELL · DIR · *Reverse*.—Shakspeare seated upon clouds, with three female figures floating around, one is placing a wreath upon his head, the others lay theirs upon his knees. Inscribed: TERCENTENARY · ANNIVERSARY · 1864. "J BELL del. L · C · WYON · SC." Size, 2·45. Illustrated on the next page.

1864. McGill College, Montreal. *Obverse*.—Stratford bust to left. "SHAKSPERE · 1564-1616." *Reverse*.—Arms of College in quatrefoil panel. "MCGILL COLLEGE · MONTREAL SHAKSPERE TERCENTENARY · 1864."

1864. Tercentenary. *Obverse*.—Bust to left from the Chandos portrait, with enriched dress. "WILLIAM SHAKESPEARE," with dates, etc. *Reverse*.—View of Birthplace: "Birthplace of the immortal bard, Stratford on Avon." "Tercentenary of the birth of Shakespeare April 1864." By J. Moore.



THE TERCENTENARY MEDAL, 1864. No. 58.

Commemorative. Probably tercentenary period. *Obverse*.—Combination of Chandos portrait and the Stratford bust. *Reverse*.—3 varieties:—

- 1 View of birthplace.
- 2 Do. Stratford-on-Avon Church.
- 3 Do. Memorial Fountain at Stratford.

Obverse.—Stratford bust, full face. "WILLIAM SHAKSPERE · DIED · APRIL 23 1616." *Reverse*.—The arms of Shakspeare. "BORN APRIL 23 · 1564." "He was not of an age, but for all time."

Obverse.—Droeshout portrait three-quarter face to left, autograph below. *Reverse*.—The Shakspeare arms. "William Shakspeare born at Stratford on Avon April 23 · 1564 · Died April 23 1616."

1870. Harrow Medal. *Obverse*.—Chandos portrait to left, three-quarter face. "L · C · WYON." "How noble in reason! how infinite in faculty!" *Reverse*.—Wreath of Shaksperian flowers. "Charles Fox Russell to the boys of Harrow School, that Shakspear may be to them for delight, ornament, and ability."

A plaquette of the Chandos portrait 1907. German work, medal 1908. *Obverse*.—Bust from the Somerset portrait, with foliated border enclosing heads of players—Phelps, Macready, and Irving.

1911. Commemorative. From portrait, the frontispiece. *Obverse*.—Bust from portrait, to right. "WILLIAM · SHAKSPERE" under bust. "PICT · AD · VIV · APVD · W^m SHARP · OGDEN · M^{cm}" in field to left. *Reverse*.—Profile in relievo to right from the Stratford bust, laurcated by the Muse of Poesy. Puck seated with Tragic and Comic Masks. In exergue: "MDL^{xiv} · APOLLO · ALTER · MDC^{xvi}." In field to left "EFFIG · APVD · ECCL · S on A." "F · BOWCHER · F · W · S · O · INV." In exergue "SPINK · LOND." Size, 1·70.

Of the above medals there are good selections, chiefly of the best examples, at the British Museum and the Memorial Library, Stratford, but for completeness and an almost fastidious display of variety, that of Mr. M. H. Spielmann, F.S.A., is remarkable, and probably comprises all that is worthy of consideration and preservation.

There are few of these medallie memorials which we can regard with whole-hearted satisfaction. Some are certainly excellent in point of portraiture, but the reverse designs are either absurdly inconsequential or utterly commonplace, thus the stupendous landscape, "WILD ABOVE · RVLE · OR · ART," of the Dassier medal of 1731 is alien to the saner and more intelligent appreciation of to-day. The City of London School, Beaufoy medal of 1851, by B. Wyon, and the Tercentenary medal of 1864, by L. Wyon, have heads in profile from the Stratford monument, but both are very inaccurate renderings of the original, and remarkably unlike each other in outline, feature, and expression. The simper of the Tercentenary head is especially odious, the reverses also being feeble, inartistic, and quite redolent of mid-Victorian art in their pretentiousness. The row of theatric figures of the Beaufoy is neither better nor worse than the design of the other, where the Bard, attended by gesticulating damsels, is seated "in his habit as he lived" upon clouds resembling bags of wool.

Many of the others also are examples of neglected opportunity or mistaken ingenuity. In point of portraiture the misapprehension or perversion is occasionally remarkable, and when this is considered in co-relation with the engraved portraits, the limitation of the artist as a copyist is revealed with startling clearness.

The Chandos portrait of Shakspeare was that generally used as a basis for very free treatment during the eighteenth century

especially, and the chief model whence sculptors and other artists drew their inspiration. Their work in the round, such as the life-size statues by Scheemakers in 1740, and of his scholar Roubiliac in 1758, permitted the medallist to obtain variations of contour and profile at will, the accuracy and reliability of which, however, would be greater had the Stratford bust been more closely followed instead of a mere assumption of the ideal.

In curious contrast to these semi-official, individual or other well meant efforts to popularise and perpetuate the memory of Shakspeare, we may give passing mention of the quasi-halfpence issued by unscrupulous die-sinkers shortly after the middle of the eighteenth century, for the purpose of circulation with and as the ordinary copper currency.

The inaction or indifference of the Government during the early years of George III.'s reign had allowed the copper currency to get into a shocking state, many of the pieces having been in circulation for almost a century, and the shortage of small values was intolerable ; so that privateers scooped a nefarious profit by making and issuing bogus halfpence in enormous quantities. The almost "infinite variety" of these was also assisted by frequent intermixture of the dies; and they generally bore a vague and distant resemblance to the regal coin, the difference being either not "understanded of the people" or disregarded for the sake of the convenience.

These false or "bad" halfpence as distinguished from the legitimate token coinage of later issue, were struck from dies purposely designed to give them a well worn appearance when put into circulation, and the severe penalties attached to coining were cunningly evaded by making the heads answer to that of the King ; either hybrid or altogether cosmopolitan, or ascribed, somewhat whimsically, to "Claudius Romanus," "Alfred the Great," "Gregory III.," "Gustavus Vasa," "Oliver Cromwell," and also amongst others, "Gulielmus Shakspeare," of whom there are at least five varieties. In the portraiture he is made to figure as a Roman Emperor, unknown, whilst other varieties bearing the heads of William III. and George III. are inscribed as "Shakspeare" or "Gulielmus Shakspeare," the reverses being similar to the

current coin but inscribed "Britons Glory," "Rule Britannia," etc. The "mules" have figures of science, or Hibernia, or a crowned harp, inscribed "North Wales," "Stratfordiensis," etc., which latter may have been issued by or at the instance of a townsman of the Poet. They date from 1773 to 1790, and their chief if not only value, lies in illustrating the undoubted popularity of the Poet even then, largely due no doubt to the almost continuous stage-presentment of his plays by Garrick and the many travelling companies of repute.

In succession to these piratical halfpence, but of far higher and really excellent quality, are those which form part of the immense output of promissory or token coinage which flourished so vigorously during the decade which preceded the nineteenth century. Of these the "Warwickshire" and "London and Middlesex" halfpennies issued in 1790-1-2 are handsome and well struck pieces. All of them bear excellent portraits of Shakspeare based on models derived from the Chandos portrait. The reverse types, however, are not satisfactory, for although good of their kind, they are in no way associated with either Shakspeare or the Stage. Thus, that of "Warwickshire 1791" bears a figure of Plenty, seated upon a cotton bale and saluting an incoming ship; that of 1792 has Vulcan, and others repeat the "Plenty," or replace it by Science, etc. From Pye's "Provincial Tokens," published in 1795, they would appear to be the work of Hancock.

The accompanying plate of Shaksperian tokens from the collection of Mr. S. H. Hamer illustrates some of the choicer varieties, and well demonstrates the style of portraiture adopted for the general series.

Besides these, there are a number of rough and very coarse reproductions, together with "mules" or varieties produced from an intermixture of alien dies. They, however, are of little interest and may be classed with the medallions, badges and similar miscellany of commerce, which after a fashion are associated with the Poet's name.

Incidentally, the following excerpt from the *London Magazine* of July, 1765, may not be without interest :---

"The old walnut tree that flourished before the door of Shakspeare's father's house at Stratford-upon-Avon, at the birth of the Poet, has lately been cut down, and several gentlemen had images resembling that at Westminster Abbey carved from it."



SHAKSPERIAN TOKENS.

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The "image at Westminster" was the statue by Scheemakers, erected in 1741. Surely this is a curiously perverted account of the destruction of the mulberry tree at New Place in 1758, which, planted by Shakspeare, was cut down in a fit of ill-temper by the "Reverend Mr. Gastrell," shortly before he destroyed the house itself in 1759.

Memorials, statues and other graven images, expressed in various forms of art, or its substitute, have been raised to the Poet's memory of late years the world over :—at London, at Stratford, Lord Ronald Gower's, still one of the best, at Birmingham, Nottingham, Paris, Wiemar, Cronburg, New York, Washington, etc. But why are they mostly staring or frowning? Cannot statuary express intelligence by other and more pleasing methods? the Stratford bust seems to give a smiling affirmative.

The art of the medallist belongs to the borderland between sculpture and painting, and requires besides the essential of artistic exactness, a delicate accuracy of touch superior to either from the minute nature of its work. It depends for success on an entirely harmonious combination of outline, contour and relief, which when in excess gives an effect almost sculpturesque, whilst the other extreme allows the figure or relief to emerge from the field as the merest film, yet both extremes, and all that lies between, are perfectly true and legitimate examples of its wide capabilities.

Bounded by these limitations only, the medallist is supreme master in his field of work as an exponent of expression, for expression is a quality more dependent on line, than form or colour. Colour, indeed, is almost expressionless without line or its substitute, although line is undoubtedly strengthened when supplemented by colour. In medallic work its enforced absence is replaced by subtle and most delicate gradations and blendings of contour.

The consecration by medallic memorial of its worthiest or greatest men, has at all times been regarded as a sacred duty by highly civilised peoples, yet we may observe, not without astonishment, how nations closely allied by natural ties or in close proximity, carry their several methods to extremes; from ostentatious prodigality to almost silent, but perhaps none the less appreciative recognition. In this tardy

VOL. VII.

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acknowledgment of native worth, it would be difficult to parallel any with ourselves, who would not have hastened to fulfil so felicitous and sacred a duty. Can we conceive, for instance, artistic France entrusting the memory of Napoleon or Voltaire to the keeping of two or three expressionless medals, or a few paltry and commonplace medallies; or the great Commonwealth of America, allowing the features of Washington to be commemorated by commercialism in preference to a memorial decreed by the Senate?

Ancient Rome, also, renewed on her coinage the features of her august or most revered Emperors, and nations of an even greater antiquity did not permit the incidence of death to cancel or remove the image and superscription of those rulers, whom public approval had deified and saluted as benefactors to the state.

Yet in Britain's long roll of honour, how few of the great men who are its glory, and who have been the real makers of modern Britain, are represented authentically in contemporary medallie art.

The beautifully executed portrait medallions and medals of the Tudor and Stuart periods are mostly of royal or titled personages in multitudinous yet charming variety; but unfortunately for posterity, they are very largely barren of those lineaments, which modelled *ad vivum*, would be of priceless value for all time.

The ingenuity of man has hitherto devised only three methods by which record can be intelligently transmitted with certainty to a remote but indefinite future. Of these the magnificent creations of sculpture and painting, however, but await inevitable extinction by the slow corrosion of time, and it is therefore to medallie relief alone, as the perfected form of what is probably the earliest of the arts, that we must entrust our claim to perpetuity. The events which go to form a "nation's history," or the verisimilitude of those who form its chief glory, are never transmitted so enduringly as when enshrined in its medallie monuments. Time and circumstance are powerless to affect them, and when contemporaneous they bear not only a guarantee of fidelity, but are striking and eloquent records of the quality of the national art of their period, and possess a charm and interest which posthumous medals, no matter how excellent, can never attain.

Immortality at the best is but a relative term, that by the caprice of fortune, balances between the infinitely great and infinitely little, for the pyramid may be silent, whilst the potsherd at its base names its maker. But whilst these are severally hastening to their primal atoms, the metal disc, in the bosom of Mother Earth, gleams with the brightness of an almost eternal youth.

Men die and are forgotten, be they ever so notable or worthy. Great events grow dim—legendary—unbelievable, and all in time would become mythical were it not for material evidence more stable than life or memory, which the antiquary's skilful hand disinters from the long buried past of personages of whom even history is silent, and whose very existence was unsuspected, yet by the enduring strength of medallic or monetal evidence we are enabled to gaze on their features as of contemporaries—for :—

Time which antiquates antiquities and hath an art to make dust of all things, hath yet spared these minor monuments.

It has been contended that Shakspeare's natural abilities, no matter how great they may have been, are insufficient to account for his insight and apparent familiarity with speculative philosophy as then surmised or understood ; but admitting that his youthful education was little more than elementary, we have from 1586 to 1600, when he was 36 years old, a period during which we know from the internal evidence of his writings that he was intimately acquainted with the best writers of his time, and that, moreover, he accepted history and the classics as translated, and without any attempt at correction or amendment so dear to the professed scholar.

From the time when, as a bright and vivacious lad, he cut the Gordian knot of his Stratford surrounding and went to seek fortune in London, to the time when advancing years drew him, like a bird to its nest, to the repose and tranquillity of his native home, we may trace in his life and writings an entire and progressive consistency. His extraordinary acquaintance with the lore of rural life, nature and rustic humanity, which is interwoven even into his latest writings, shows that his natural abilities readily mastered the essentials of such education or literature as was obtainable in his early years.

How he first came into contact with literary men, or their exponents the players, is of little moment ; but once in touch he seems to have soon shown his genius by recasting and enriching existing plays, some of which thus rewritten would seem to have become recognised as virtually his own ; and then, as appetite grew with what it fed upon, he embarked on the larger venture of those incomparable dramatic poems, which, as Milton says, are "our wonder and astonishment."

His early work is crude and Marlowesque, that of his prime full of patriotism, hope and vigour, mature judgment follows, later, perhaps, a vein of pessimism, and then no more.

What an epitome of all that is high and noble in humanity is this Shakspeare of ours, what a gracious and pervading personality ! From the little England, in which he gloried and which with an intense patriotism he loved so well, he has soared into a universality that blends him with all peoples, linking the past and future. The richness of fancy, the virile penetration of thought so gloriously expressed are "understood of the people" and familiar in their mouths as Holy Writ, his sayings are household words the world over, and have given our language a fixity which bids fair to make it immutable if not universal.

His personality has absorbed the individuality of all others of his time, the age is Shaksperian, and they, whatever their quality, are of, and belong to it. His very name has a suggestive fitness that lifts it above ordinary nomenclature, carrying with it an investment of chivalrous and mighty deeds, that breathe the essence of high imaginings and the brave days of old. At his bidding, as by the touch of Prospero's wand, the whole range of human action, and of all time, springs revitalised from the treasure house of antiquity. The gods are with us and the solitudes of Hellas are again glorious with the gleaming marbles of temple and portico, thronged with keen-witted disputants. Rome is once more the resistless world-compellor, shaping all peoples to the measure of her own austere severity.

Britain has again her ancient kings, hastening with Cymric impetuosity from storm and passion, to harp and song. Who of

woman born has ever with unmoistened eyes be-pictured the betrayed and dying king, cradling the murdered Cordelia in his age-worn arms. What a vision of splendid memories quickens the blood as we mingle with the mail-clad tyrants at Runnymede, where the stormy wranglings echo like the roar of an angry sea, or, as with clarion blast, "Saint George and Harry for England," whelps of the same leonine breed, we sweep victorious over the battle fields of conquered France. Remote as are the scenes and conditions of life, we recognise the same fever of the blood, raging with tongue and sword, that is still the potent factor impelling to all action.

"Now all the youth of England are on fire, and silken dalliance in the wardrobe lies"—"Now thrive the armourers and honour's thought reigns solely in the breast of every man."

"Oh, England," he cries, with intensest Patriotism, "oh, England, model to thy inward greatness—like little body with mighty heart—what might'st thou do," and again, "Nought shall make us rue, If England to itself do rest but true"—How love and war alternate in his hands, grim tragedy, and "laughter holding both sides."

Every emotion of which our nature is capable, from the sublimest abnegation of self, to the basest and most infernal of passion, from the first throb of virgin love, to the delirium of foul and secret murder, passes before us with fateful accuracy, to joyful consummation or distracting catastrophe.

Shakspeare's men and women are the true children of those days, before commercialism had ruled humanity with lines of greed and care. Rank was rank and never forgotten, whilst the lowly born stood by his manhood.

What delightful men and lovable women laugh and scold their way through life in the pictures Shakspeare has given to us of those strong times, when the rejuvenescence of learning set aflame the imaginings of young England.

Where fact and fable wove each other into dreams more true than either wot of, and even elves and fairies had a grace.

A dream it is indeed, but a dream which has given reality of apprehension to the essentials of all human action, and we stand

amazed at the power which, while revealing the very springs of thought, has created, or recreated, potentialities or memories that grow even more splendid and august with time.

We are at one with MILTON, who casting his budding laurels at the Master's feet, exclaims :—

“What needs my Shakspeare for his honor'd bones
The labor of an age in pilèd stones?
Or that his hallow'd reliques should be hid
Under a stary pointing Pyramid?
Dear Son of Memory, great heir of fame,
What need'st thou such weak witness of thy name?
Thou in our wonder and astonishment
Hast built thyself a live-long monument.
For whilst, to the shame of slow-endeavouring art,
Thy easy numbers flow, and that each heart
Hath from the leaves of thy unvalued book
Those Delphic lines with deep impression took,
Then thou, our fancy of itself bereaving,
Dost make us marble with too much conceiving,
And so sepulchred in such pomp dost lie
That kings for such a tomb would wish to die.”

John Milton, 1630.

[EDITORIAL NOTE.—We may add that Mr. Ogden, in issuing his medal to the memory of Shakspeare, has been solely influenced by the sentiments so apparent in this paper, for commercialism has been ruled out of the question.]



PORTRAIT OF WILLIAM III., PRINCE OF ORANGE.

AFTER LELY, FROM A MEZZOTINT IN THE COLLECTION OF MR. W. SHARP OGDEN.

PORTRAITURE OF OUR STUART MONARCHS ON THEIR COINS AND MEDALS.

PART III : WILLIAM AND MARY.

BY HELEN FARQUHAR.

THOSE readers of our *Journal* who may have cared to glance through the pages devoted to Stuart portraiture, will remember that we followed the wanderings of James II. in his last years which terminated with his death in exile in 1701. It is now time to retrace our steps to the December of 1688, when the last of our Stuart Kings *de facto* vacated¹ the English throne, and the country replaced him by a queen of his own line, as joint ruler with a king, chosen from the House of Orange-Nassau.

¹ It was decided in the House of Commons on February 8th, 1689, to enact that "King James the Second having abdicated, the Government and Throne being thereby vacant," William and Mary should reign in his stead, and a declaration to this effect was read on February 12th. (*Commons Journal*, vol. x, pp. 23 and 29.) Debates in the Houses of Lords and Commons had preceded the decision between January 28th and February 8th, 1688-89 (*Commons Journal*, vol. x, pp. 14-24), concerning the word to be applied to the flight of James; whether he should be said to have "abdicated" instead of "deserted" the throne. It was resolved in the affirmative and Lord Clarendon complained that in the Upper Chamber no division was taken upon the motion "that the prince and princess of Orange might be declared king and queen. This was opposed upon the account of the succession, but nothing would be hearkened to, and so the question was put; and though as near as I could reckon there were near forty negatives and leave asked to enter their dissents, yet it was not thought fit to divide the house." *Diary of Henry, Earl of Clarendon*, vol. ii; *State Letters*, p. 165, ed. of 1763.

"The fruit that I cry
 That now is in season, tho' winter is nigh ;
 'Twill do you all good—and sweeten your blood ;
 I'm sure it will please you when once understood ;
 'Tis an Orange !"¹

So sang the anti-Jacobites, punning according to the fashion of the day, on the name of their elected king. But it was not as a member of a foreign family that William came to this country, nor was it solely in the right of Mary that he accepted the crown, for he had no intention of taking up a position of subordination to his wife. It was rather as the nearest Protestant male representative of the House of Stuart, in his own person, that he conceived his claim to the sovereignty to be equal in value to hers, and as he and his consort shared a feeling, expressed by Mary, that "women should not meddle in Government,"² no dissensions arose between them and he assumed the principal power.

William was in many respects a thorough Stuart, although like his mother, Mary, the eldest daughter of Charles I., he possessed pre-eminently the least attractive qualities of the race. Like her, he was remarkable for a firmness of character, not unapt to degenerate into obstinacy. Both were unconciliatory in manner—nay, almost ungracious—a rare failing in the Stuarts, and it was said of her that although capable of inspiring great affection from those in immediate attendance upon her, she, during the short time that she occupied a conspicuous position in Holland as guardian to her son, took no trouble to become generally popular,³ just as Burnet tells us that William in England "did not descend enough to the humours of his people, to make himself and his notions more acceptable to them."⁴ In her case her inability to make facile friendships may have been partly the result of shyness and partly

¹ Quoted in *The Court of William III.*, by Edwin and Marion Grew, p. 42.

² *Memoirs of Mary, Queen of England*, edited by Richard Doebner, p. 23.

³ *Court Life in the Dutch Republic*, by Baroness Suzette van Zuylen van Nyevelt, p. 172, and *Five Stuart Princesses*, edited by Robert Rait, *Mary of Orange*, by Algernon Cecil, p. 225.

⁴ Burnet's *History of His own Times*, vol. iv, p. 562.

owing to the ever-increasing dislike of the country of her adoption, which she felt and even expressed, after the death of the young husband whom she passionately loved.¹ Her son, having, as Burnet says, "observed the errors of too much talking, more than those of too cold a silence,"² was as taciturn as his great-grandfather, William the Silent, and inherited this reserve of manner from his paternal relations as much as from his mother. He also regarded his residence in his acquired kingdom as an exile equally distasteful to him as was her sojourn in Holland to her, going so far as to admit in conversation with Shrewsbury that he "could not hit on the right way of pleasing England."³

Not less in appearance than in demeanour did William recall some of his Stuart relations. He certainly possessed the fine white hands for which this family was renowned, and Evelyn, speaking of him in 1670



MEDALLIC PORTRAIT, BY PETER VAN ABBEELE, OF HENRY, DUKE OF GLOUCESTER, WITH HIS SISTER MARY, PRINCESS OF ORANGE. BRITISH MUSEUM.

¹ *Court Life in the Dutch Republic*, p. 173. We find medals of this youthful pair, hand in hand, see *Med. Ill.*, vol. i, pp. 287-88, Nos. 100-1, but they are not copied from the pictures painted by Antony van Dyck, and by Gerard van Honthorst, in which they appear side by side.

² *Burnet*, vol. iv, p. 563.

³ *The Court of William III.*, p. 151.

at the age of twenty, says that he had "a manly, courageous, wise countenance, resembling his mother and the Duke of Gloucester, both deceas'd."¹ The unique medal in the British Museum here illustrated strongly corroborates the diarist's remark. William's plentiful locks, whether in the fairness of early childhood or the dark brown of later years, showed forth in their heavy waves the bright auburn lights of the Stuart family, and his portraits, especially in his youth, when he was a lonely unloved boy, have the pathetic expression, noticeable in the pictures of Charles I. There is an oil painting of William in the Stadthuis at Haarlem by an unknown artist, in which, although the delicate and pallid boy appears overweighted by his armour,² we are attracted by the wistful gaze of the pleading brown eyes looking forth as they do from an oval countenance, framed by the rather dark hair.³ The painting leaves a pleasanter impression than does that of the equally fragile and weary looking child in the National Portrait Gallery,⁴ with its curious colouring and ugly yellow frock, emphasizing the pinched form and the narrow face in which the long nose is already too apparent, and we turn from the painfully realistic work of

¹ Evelyn's *Diary*, November 4th, 1670. Henry, Duke of Gloucester, born 1639, the youngest son of Charles I., died of smallpox in 1660 at little more than the age William had now attained. Temple (see his *Memoirs* by T. P. Courtenay, vol. i, p. 286), speaking of the latter, says, in 1668: "His person . . . is very good, and has much of the Princess in it."

² Macaulay (vol. iv, p. 408) says that in later life (1693) William ran greater risks in battle than others, "for he could not be persuaded either to encumber his feeble frame with a cuirass, or to hide the ensigns of the Garter, because he thought the star a good rallying point for the troops." We see him, however, often painted in armour in after life, and he is so portrayed at the Battle of the Boyne in 1690, in the equestrian painting at the National Portrait Gallery, and in his medals to the very end.

³ The gradual darkening of its auburn colouring is particularly apparent by the comparison of the almost sandy short hair of an infantile painting at Amsterdam, with the picture of William as a boy by Adriaan Hanneman at Hampton Court and the Haarlem portrait. I am of course speaking of a time when the wig had not taken the place which is occupied in pictures of grown-up persons of this period—William in his later portraits generally wears a dark-brown periwig.

⁴ This picture was painted when William was seven years old, by Cornelis Jansen van Ceulen, who was born of Dutch parentage in London in 1593, and worked in England and in Holland. He is thought to have died in the latter country in 1664.



WILLIAM III., PRINCE OF ORANGE, BY JEURIAEN POOL : VAN LOON, VOL. II, P. 396, NO. 2.



CHARLES II. AND WILLIAM III., PRINCE OF ORANGE, BY PETER VAN ABBEELE :
MED. ILL., VOL. I, P. 472, NO. 75.

Cornelis Jansen van Ceulen and are glad to find in Van Abeele's medal of 1654 a more cheerful presentment.¹ The features on the medallion of a baby not four years old naturally give little promise of the ardent fire of his manhood, when Burnet speaks of his "Roman eagle nose, bright sparkling eyes . . . large front and . . . countenance composed to gravity and authority,"² and a medal by Jeuriaen Pool, illustrated on our facing plate and dated 1655, shows little change of portrait. The last mentioned piece was, according to Van Loon, probably designed to uphold his election before he had attained his fifth year as Stadtholder and Captain-General of their province by the Estates of Overijssel in October, 1654.³ The struck specimen which I illustrate from the National Collection is very fine and as a portrait more attractive than Van Abeele's work. In his



MARY, PRINCESS OF ORANGE, AND HER SON, 1654; *MED. ILL.*, I, P. 417, NO. 55.

¹ Peter van Abeele executed highly embossed and chased silver medals dated from 1622 to 1679. He lived in Amsterdam, and his various portraits of Charles I. and Charles II., of Van Tromp and De Ruyter, besides those of William II. and III. of Orange, are well known.

² Burnet's *Own Times*, vol. iv, p. 561.

³ Van Loon, vol. ii, p. 376, No. 2 (see also Blok's History, vol. iv, pp. 224-26). William was appointed Stadtholder of Overijssel, with his uncle Prince William Frederic acting as lieutenant during his minority, but this action provoked much hostility in the States-General, continuing under discussion for a considerable time, and in 1657 the matter was finally postponed until the young Prince should have attained his majority.

childhood, *circa* 1660, or about the date of the Haarlem picture, he is described as "very handsome, with a long well-formed face, a gentle eye, an aquiline nose and an alert mind," and as speaking "well and boldly."¹

It is regrettable that the face of a charming equestrian portrait on the reverse of a later medal,² from the hand of Van Abeele, *circa* 1661, is on too small a scale to give us a really good idea of his features, although the spirited figure reminds us that even in his youth he had a fine seat upon a horse, and as such I am glad to have the opportunity of illustrating this also.³ It is attributed to the date given above, because it closely resembles the obverse of a medal figured by Van Loon⁴ which bears on the reverse a shield of arms within the garter, and William was installed by dispensation a knight of this order on April 10th, 1661. The young Prince was, however, nominated for this honour by letters dated from Paris, April 25th, 1653, and invested at The Hague in the following May, although of course his installation could not take place until after the Restoration—he might therefore be represented as wearing the garter from 1653 onward, and the blue riband is seen in the pictures of 1657 by Jansen van Ceulen just mentioned. I would like to suggest that possibly we should carry back the medal to the May of 1660, when the portrait of Charles II. was, according to Van Loon, first produced in celebration of the English King's triumphant departure from The Hague, when accompanied by the Court he rode to Scheveningen to embark for England.⁵ Van Abeele's first medal⁶ of William, as a baby, is said to have been ordered in 1654 by the indignant mother because the Province of

¹ *History of the People of the Netherlands*, by Petrus Blok, Part IV, p. 245; quoting *Les Voyages de Monsieur de Monconys*.

² *Med. Ill.*, vol. i, pp. 471-72, Nos. 74-75.

³ *Med. Ill.*, vol. i, p. 472, No. 75, is illustrated on our previous plate. No. 74 has the same reverse portraying William but a differing obverse representing Charles almost in full-face.

⁴ Van Loon, vol. iii, p. 47, No. 2, and described in *Med. Ill.*, vol. i, pp. 471-73.

⁵ Van Loon, vol. ii, p. 461, figured p. 462, No. 2. *Med. Ill.*, vol. i, pp. 455-56, Nos. 44-46.

⁶ *Med. Ill.*, vol. i, p. 417, No. 55, see illustration on previous page.

Holland consented to a secret provision, introduced by Cromwell into a treaty with England, which bound the Estates to exclude the House of Orange from power, a prohibition which the Princess was happy enough to see withdrawn before her death.¹ The effigy of the boy is also found alone, or more strangely, was combined with that of his deceased father,²—an anachronism frequently found on medals—or with that of his mother as the case might be; for the presentments of the married pair³ consisted of thin silver plates, which had been originally embossed in 1650 shortly before the death of William II., and could as occasion served be easily combined with that of the young prince on whom the hopes of the Orange party now hung.

It has been rather unkindly said that William had not a very tender mother in Mary, who in a letter to Charles II. playfully assured him that he came before her only child in her affections, but as she declared that she adored her favourite brother “above all things in the world,” this proves no excessive coldness on her part,⁴ and her pathetic answer to an enquiry why she, a widow at nineteen, did not remarry, shows that her love for her boy was really paramount. “I desire to be married only to the interests of my son,”⁵ said this lonely princess, and indeed, her whole life was spent in the endeavour to reinstate her child and her brother in the places she deemed their due. It is even apparent that she hoped, should her efforts in favour of the restoration of Charles be successful, that she would be enabled through his means, to revive the glory of the House of Orange.⁶

¹ The peace was concluded at Westminster on April 5th, 1654, and ratified at The Hague on the 21st, (n.s.). It contained a secret article known as the “Act of Seclusion,” a disability which was removed in 1660. See *Court Life in the Dutch Republic*, p. 168 and *Five Stuart Princesses*, pp. 208, 209, 220, and 225, also Blok, vol. iv, pp. 213–19.

² Van Loon, vol. ii, p. 376, No. 1 alone and *Med. Ill.*, vol. i, p. 418, No. 56, with his father.

³ *Med. Ill.*, vol. i, p. 393, No. 17. The bust of William II. alone is also found on p. 393, No. 16, and I have illustrated that of Mary combined with the portrait of her brother, the Duke of Gloucester, in the National Collection on our p. 201.

⁴ Letter of March 14th, 1658, printed by Mrs. Mary Anne Everett Green in her *Princesses of England*, vol. vi, p. 265, and quoted in *Court Life in the Dutch Republic*, p. 150.

⁵ *Five Stuart Princesses*, p. 201.

⁶ *Five Stuart Princesses*, pp. 207–10.

William certainly cherished fond memories of the only parent he had ever known, and it is undoubted that she fostered in him a pride of race which remained his guiding star throughout his life. Born on November 4th (o.s.), 1650, after the demise of his father, William had a sad and solitary boyhood, and from the time of his young mother's death on December 24th (o.s.), 1660, when he was but just ten years of age, he seems to have left all childish things behind him, so that we find him a staid unattractive youth, whose only remaining female relative in Holland was a grandmother, who had failed to engage his affections.

The "Child of State," as William was called from the time that the United Provinces definitely assumed his guardianship in 1666,¹ grew up longing for the moment when he should be free, his one desire to rule, his one thought, the glory of his House and his Country. Such was the man who, from motives of policy only, married Mary the daughter of James, then Duke of York, and afterwards James II. Such was the man who accepted the British crown solely because he thought he would be able by English means to fight the battles of Protestantism and of Holland, such was the man who, in spite of an ungracious manner coupled with a singularly cold demeanour, exercised an extraordinary power over all with whom he came in contact.

The marriage of William was celebrated on November 4th (o.s.), 1677, and it was not based on affection on either side. In his case it was a matter of calculation, in Mary's of obedience to the commands of King Charles, who wished to conciliate the Protestant party and strengthen his alliance against France. The suggestion had been made to William some years earlier, to be coldly rejected by the Prince, who was not inclined to matrimony.² Even now he informed

¹ When the "Act of Seclusion" was repealed in 1660, the Princess placed her son in the care of the States, but in 1666 a more definite arrangement was made by his grandmother, Amalia, widow of Prince Frederic Henry, and mother of William II. of Orange, and the child became the Ward of the Estates of Holland. See Blok's *History of the People of the Netherlands*, vol. iv, pp. 299, 301, and 331, and *Court Life in the Dutch Republic*, pp. 213 and 231.

² In 1674, see *Memoirs of Sir William Temple*, by T. P. Courtenay, vol. i, p. 431 and p. 444, note *.

Sir William Temple that he required a most subservient helpmate, and that he "might, perhaps, not be very easy for a wife to live with; he was sure he should not to such wives as were generally in the courts of this age."¹ Temple, who was from time to time employed as Resident Envoy or on special missions to the Dutch States, was favourable to the marriage and very instrumental in bringing it about by the excellent character he gave to the Prince of the Princess, saying that he had "always heard his wife and sister speak with all the advantage that could be of what they could discern in a Princess so young."² Of William he had a high opinion, for he describes him, even very early in life, as "a most extreme hopeful prince . . . a young man of more parts than ordinary, and of the better sort; that is, not lying in that kind of wit, which is neither of use to one's self nor to any body else, but in good plain sense, with show of application if he had business that deserved it, and that with extreme good agreeable humour and dispositions and thus far without any vice."³ Years did not lessen this good impression, and Temple was therefore glad to obtain permission for William to come to England, to arrange in person for this alliance.⁴

Of Mary, who had been most carefully brought up in the Protestant faith,⁵ and in the spirit of obedience to her Uncle Charles, we learn that on being informed of her approaching marriage, "she wept all that afternoon and all the following day,"⁶ and her father, with perhaps a prophetic feeling that William would not make him a very pleasant son-in-law, also reluctantly gave his consent to the match under pressure from his brother—consoling himself with the

¹ *Memoirs of Sir William Temple*, vol. i, p. 468.

² *Ibid.*, vol. i, p. 468.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 285 in the year 1668.

⁴ Permission was given in September, 1677, to the Prince of Orange to come over. *Ibid.*, p. 503.

⁵ Mary and Anne were educated by Henry Compton, Bishop of London, a preceptor chosen by Charles II., who took them from their father's control, being distrustful of his influence, owing to his increased tendency towards the Church of Rome after his wife's death in the Catholic faith.

⁶ *The Court of William III.*, p. 23.

remark to the Council as he did so, that "he hoped he had given sufficient testimony of his right intentions to the Public good, and that People would no more say he designed altering the Government in Church and State."¹

The medals struck in commemoration of the marriage are not particularly interesting; perhaps the most pleasing in point of portraiture being that here illustrated,² which gives a good idea of the pair at their respective ages of 27 and 15 years.³



MEDAL COMMEMORATING THE MARRIAGE OF WILLIAM AND MARY; *MED. ILL.*, VOL. I, P. 568, NO. 235.

It is believed to be the work of Nicholas Chevalier, a Protestant minister and native of Sedan, who was said to have taken refuge in Holland on the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685 and to have worked in Amsterdam and Utrecht,⁴ but this date hardly coincides with the making of a Dutch medal in 1677, if an original portrait. Possibly therefore the design was adapted from some

¹ Clarke's *Life of James II.*, vol. i, p. 510

² *Med. Ill.*, vol. i, p. 568, No. 235, also p. 569, No. 236 almost exactly similar.

³ A very similar portrait of Mary exists on some coronation medals which are copies by George Hautsch made at Nuremberg under the superintendence of L. G. Lauffer, and these medals bear the initials G. H. and L. G. L. *Med. Ill.*, vol. i, pp. 666-67, Nos. 35-37, and vol. ii, p. 727.

⁴ *Med. Ill.*, vol. iii, p. 722. It is there mentioned that some of Chevalier's medals are only copies of those by other artists; but as the busts here illustrated were later copied by Hautsch, we should, I think, conclude that they are originals by Chevalier, he possibly using a painting as his model.



PORTRAIT OF MARY, WIFE OF WILLIAM III., AS PRINCESS OF ORANGE.

AFTER LELY, FROM A MEZZOTINT IN THE COLLECTION OF MR. W. SHARP OGDEN.

contemporary picture and executed at Sedan, unless some uncertainty attaches to the artist's story, for the portraiture agrees with the suggested date.

Nearly the same obverse, representing William, was used with a bust of his mother upon the reverse, and is another instance of the frequent habit of placing in juxtaposition portraits which were not contemporaneous, the one with the other.¹

The medallic souvenirs of William and Mary at this period are neither common nor pleasing, and so far as the young Princess is concerned, it seems a pity that at a time when so many medals were made at the Court of her uncle Charles II. some memory of her childhood by one of the Roettier family should not have been handed down to us. At the time of her marriage, Mary—twelve years younger than her husband—was very graceful, already tall and generally admired. She and William were perhaps an ill-assorted pair, so that it was not judicious to paint them side by side, but the fact, often brought verbally before us, that he was small, sickly-looking and unattractive would not appear within the compass of a medal, and there are several paintings of the Prince of Orange, which show us that he was not altogether lacking in good looks, which the feebleness of his frame did not entirely submerge.

The charming mezzotint of the bridegroom, which has been kindly lent to me for illustration, and which forms our frontispiece, was the work in 1678 of Abraham Blooteling,² taken from a portrait by Lely, and is, with its companion picture of the bride, on our facing plate, most characteristic of Sir Peter's style.

The date of the original oil painting is fairly ascertainable, for William's visit to England to make arrangements for his marriage

¹ *Med. Ill.*, vol. i, p. 570, No. 239, by Chevalier. See Illustrated Edition, Plate lviii, 9, where it is catalogued as the work of Chevalier.

² Abraham Blooteling was born in 1640 and died at Amsterdam in January, 1690, according to recent research. His last dated portrait is of the year 1685. "He came to England about 1672-73, staying until 1676 and worked in mezzotint for the most part after pictures by Lely." See *A Short History of Engraving and Etching*, A. M. Hind, pp. 152 and 266, also Thieme-Becker's *Künstler-Lexikon*, vol. iv, p. 139. Bryan's *Dictionary of Painters*, ed. 1903-5, gave his dates as 1634-98.

commenced on October¹ the 9th, 1677, and extended over less than two months, and we may assume that the pictures were ordered in commemoration of the nuptials which were celebrated on November 4th. Peter van der Faes, generally known as Lely, had settled in this country in 1641, coming over in the train of William II. of Nassau, the father of our William III., when he visited England on a similar quest to that of his son, namely, his marriage to a Princess Mary of the House of Stuart. Lely on this occasion also painted them in commemoration of their wedding,² which ceremony was performed at Whitehall on the 2nd of May, 1641, and it is not on record that Lely ever returned to the Netherlands. As he remained in England throughout the time of the Commonwealth and died in London on November 30th, 1680, we may be almost sure that the portraits of the younger William and Mary were painted before their departure for the States, for which country they set out as soon after their wedding as the stormy weather permitted, namely, on November 28th, 1677, having left Whitehall nine days earlier.

Amongst the objects of interest in the Rijks Museum, at Amsterdam, is a small mother-of-pearl medallion,³ undated and unsigned, but clearly of this period, which vividly recalls our frontispiece, even to the rivets in the armour and pattern of the lace cravat, and this carving in its turn shows forth a marked resemblance to an oil painting by Wissing, also in the Dutch National Collection.⁴

¹ Lingard's *History of England*, vol. xii, p. 104.

² Nos. 95 and 100 in the Stuart Exhibition of 1889, lent by the Earl of Crawford.

³ By the courtesy of the Director of the Rijks Museum, I understand, that this medallion is probably the work of Cornelis Belliken, who became a member of the Artists' Guild at Middelburgh, in 1663, and who was well known as an engraver of mother-of-pearl. The probable date of this carving comes, together with another in the same collection executed somewhat later, within the scope of his work. A pair of portraits in the Franks collection in the British Museum also represent William and Mary in much the same style, but are of a still later date, for the arms of England are engraved on the silver case in which the medallions are enclosed, and the carvings must therefore belong to the post-Revolution period, with which also the mode of hair-dressing agrees. The second carving in the Rijks Museum recalls a picture by Kneller of William in armour, now at Kensington Palace.

⁴ Number 2691 in the *Rijks Museum Catalogue*.

William's hair, according to the pictures of 1678, had grown very dark with auburn lights relieving the heavy masses, and the smooth parting, with the curls falling on either side, is far more becoming than the piled-up wig of later days, when fashion endeavoured to add some inches to the height by means of the coiffure—as exemplified by the “flaming hair” of the coinage of 1698–99. It might be thought that William from the time of his arrival in England, encouraged this lofty style of hair-dressing to bring the top of his head on a level with that of his wife, were it not that Mary, to whom such an addition was quite unnecessary, followed the same mode, although wearing her own hair; and also that this exaggerated fashion rather increased than diminished after the death of the Queen. According to tradition another expedient was adopted at the royal receptions, where William stood upon a footstool in order to emulate the dignity of his Queen, and his effigy is so placed in the Islip Chamber at Westminster Abbey, but even then it does not attain this object—perhaps because in this instance the wig worn by the King is not quite contemporaneous and is not of the fashionable height. We cannot, however, attach much importance to these figures, for they were not made to be carried in the funeral procession, but their origin was due to a later wish to mark the place of their burial.¹ Miss Strickland writes that William was said to look

¹ We have reason to believe, in spite of the frequent statements in various histories, that the figures of William and Mary were not carried at their funerals. Miss Strickland says that Mary's effigy “was placed over her coffin,” but I learn from Dr. Robinson, now Dean of Wells, and late Dean of Westminster, that the figures of William, Mary and Anne are simply waxworks made for show some twenty years or more after the death of William, as appears from a reference to them in an order of Dean Bradford on March 26th, 1724. By a misprint the date appears as 1727 in the account of *The Funeral Effigies*, given by Mr. St. John Hope, and Dr. Robinson, *Archæologia*, vol. ix, pp. 517–70. Vertue in his *MS. (Brit. Mus. Addit., 23069, p. 51)* written in 1724–25, examined the old effigies at that time stored in presses in the Islip Chambers, and he does not mention the figures of Charles II., William, Mary, or Anne, which must have been then standing over their graves in the Abbey in the absence of monuments. Dean Robinson speaks of that of the first-mentioned king as being so seen in 1723, being probably designed for the same object. *Archæologia*, vol. ix, p. 568. The effigy of Charles II. was made from the usual death mask taken on the king's demise, but was not carried at the funeral.

"diminutive" with Mary when he used to take her arm as he walked, and calls attention to the great disparity in the respective statures of the pair in the waxen figures to which I have just referred, mentioning that Mary is represented as being six feet in height,¹ and, indeed, I think this is not much over-stating the matter. We learn, however, from the private letter² quoted below that she was not so tall as her step-mother, Mary d'Este, who whilst of fine proportions was not abnormally tall, and we may perhaps allow for some slight inaccuracies in the two effigies which are certainly good portraits.³ One Dutch historian, if rightly translated, speaks of William as "tall,"⁴ but he is usually said to have measured little more than five feet, and the flattering pictures of certain artists, notably Wissing, led to misapprehensions.⁵ Lady Cavendish describing the royal pair on the day of their proclamation as joint monarchs writes as follows:—"The King applies himself mightily to business and is wonderfully admired for his great wisdom and prudence in ordering all things. He is a man of no presence, but looks very homely at first sight, but if one looks long on him he has something in his face both wise and good. But as for the Queen, she is really altogether very handsome, her face is agreeable, and her shape and motions extremely graceful and fine. She is tall but not so tall as the last Queen."

Such then were the Prince and Princess of Orange, aged respectively thirty-eight and twenty-six, when, in February, 1688-89, in response to the call of the Protestant party they took joint possession of the crown. William, however, would brook no divided rule, nor consider that the

¹ Strickland, vol. vii, p. 461.

² Letter from Lady Cavendish to Mrs. Jane Allington, printed in *Memoirs of Lady Russell and Lady Herbert*, by Lady Stepney, p. 138.

³ If viewed in profile these effigies are very like the coins, but the forehead of Mary does not recede so disagreeably as on the currency, although the double chin is quite as visible.

⁴ Blok, vol. iv, p. 400, English translation. I understand that in Dutch the same word denotes tall and great, and I cannot help thinking that the latter was intended.

⁵ Strickland, *Queens of England*, vol. vii, p. 143. The heroic equestrian figure painted by Kneller in 1697 (see the *Hampton Court Catalogue*, No. 29) suggests a tall man, but as a rule Sir Godfrey gives a truer idea of William's appearance.

relationship of Mary, as daughter to the late King, gave her a claim to a higher place in the government than he held as the grandson of Charles I.; and his attitude towards his wife in particular, and the kingdom in general, is pithily summed up in the words of a modern writer, in quoting whom I hope I shall not be accused of partisanship. "The crown of England," says the author of *The Story of the Household Cavalry*, "having been offered by a number of persons (who had not the right to dispose of it) to two distinguished individuals (who equally had no right to accept it), the 'glorious Revolution' was complete, leaving only unsolved the curious, if purely academic question, how far it is possible, within the same realm and over the same subjects, for a male and female sovereign to bear joint and simultaneous rule. The problem received a practical solution by William's usurpation of the whole sovereign power to himself."¹

But let us rather say that the position of the new King and Queen is well typified by the subordination of her head to his in the jugate



HALFCROWN OF WILLIAM AND MARY, 1689; FIRST TYPE.

coinage. which combined the portraits of the two monarchs in a different manner from the face-to-face busts of Mary Tudor and Philip II. of Spain.

In a former volume of our *Journal*, I have called attention to the custom of placing upon the obverse of a coin the busts of two persons facing one another, as coming from Spain, where the currency of Ferdinand and Isabella, as sovereigns of Aragon and Castile in their

¹ *The Story of the Household Cavalry*, by Sir George Arthur, vol. i, p. 234.

joint rule, had served as a model copied by their descendants ; a type no doubt revived from Roman times.¹ We may similarly trace the jugate busts to the coins of early days—whether in the Greek in Egypt in the portraits attributable to the reign of Ptolemy II.² of himself with Arsinoe II., and of Ptolemy I. with Berenice I., or some 150 years later in Syria of Cleopatra with Antiochus VIII., 125–121 B.C., the latter examples being so beautiful in design, that no one could take exception to the precedent.³ Rather later, again we find specimens in the Roman coinage to which it is perhaps safer to refer that of William and Mary, because the taste of their day tended to the revival of Roman art ; let us, therefore, seek such instances as are afforded by the portraits of Mark Antony and Octavia, 39 B.C.,⁴ or of Claudius and Agrippina, A.D. 50. In A.D. 54–55 Nero made use of the jugate type when portrayed with his mother, Agrippina, but not invariably, since he had recourse to the face-to-face representation also, but even in England we have in Roman times three busts conjoined on a coin in the case of Carausius with Maximian and Diocletian, *circa* A.D. 290.

The classic armour—low-necked and Roman in form—in which William appears, makes us turn more readily to this remote period than to the Italian and German designs of the sixteenth century, such as the pattern for a testoon of Maximilian I. and Bianca Maria Sforza, made by Gian Marco Cavalli at Hall in 1506, or to those of Maximilian II., as King of Bohemia, and his wife Mary, issued in 1562–64.⁵ It is scarcely necessary to further enumerate continental examples such as the fine portraits by Guillaume Dupré⁶ of Henri IV.

¹ *British Numismatic Journal*, vol. iv, pp. 122–24.

² Ptolemy Philadelphus, who reigned 285–246 B.C. See *Brit. Mus. Catal.*, Ptolemies, Plate VII, 1–4.

³ *Brit. Mus. Catal.*, Seleucid Kings. Plate XXIII, 2, 3.

⁴ *Coins of the Roman Republic*, by H. Grueber, vol. ii, p. 503, Plate CXIV, Nos. 3 and 4.

⁵ Maximilian I. married Bianca, daughter of Ludovico Sforza, as his second wife. He reigned as Emperor from 1493–1519. Maximilian II., his great-grandson, became Emperor in 1564, being at the time of his election King of Hungary and Bohemia.

⁶ Guillaume Dupré was Contrôleur-Général des Effigies from 1606 to 1639. Hewas born *circa* 1574–76 (see Forrer's *Dictionary of Medallists*, and Mazerolle's *Médailleurs*

of France and Marie de Medici, or their medallion by Simon de Passe,¹ who pursued the same fashion in his counters of Charles and Henrietta Maria,² or again our Dutch-fishery medals³ of these sovereigns which were of German origin being by Hans Reinhard, once known as Heinrich Reitz⁴; for the custom was not especially Dutch, but resulted from the revival of pseudo-classical taste which attained its height in England at the end of the eighteenth century.

It may be asked why William and Mary did not follow the precedent set them by their predecessors, Philip and Mary I., on the English throne, nor am I prepared to give a definite answer to the question; but William was not in the same circumstances as Philip of Spain, being really the ruler of this country, whilst Philip was only king-consort, to the grief of his wife, who was as anxious as her Stuart namesake to share her exalted station with her husband. It is, however, apparent that the face-to-face type was not disliked by William and Mary, for we find it upon several medals—even upon some of those celebrating the Coronation⁵ and the restoration⁶ of the Protestant power, and a number of patterns were also made for the coinage in yet another style, showing the busts of the two sovereigns on the opposite sides, a practice which had been suggested in Tudor times,⁷ and was,



PATTERN FARTHING; MONTAGU, NO. 15, P. 70.

Français, vol. i, cxxix), and died June 8th, 1647. In 1603, Henri IV. granted Dupré the special privilege of casting medals at the Louvre, and his various portraits of the King date from 1597 onward. See Mazerolle, vol. ii, p. 125.

¹ *Med. Ill.*, vol. i, p. 240, No. 7.

² *Med. Ill.*, vol. i, p. 378, Nos. 278–79.

³ *Med. Ill.*, vol. i, pp. 278–79, Nos. 81, 82, and 84.

⁴ See Forrer's *Dictionary of Medallists*.

⁵ *Med. Ill.*, vol. i, p. 668, No. 39, and p. 672, No. 44.

⁶ *Med. Ill.*, vol. i, p. 659, No. 19.

⁷ See the rare pattern for a halfcrown of Philip and Mary I., of 1554, of which one of the three known specimens is in the British Museum.

again, the repetition of a Roman custom. The pattern farthing, here illustrated, shows us that, had this alternative design been accepted, we should not have profited, the profile view of Mary being almost as unbecoming when seen in its entirety as when overshadowed by her husband—indeed, none of her coins and medals suggests the handsome woman described by her contemporaries.

Walpole quotes Vertue in attributing to Norbert Roettier the patterns with the King's head on one side, the Queen's on the other, and I am able to place before you a very remarkable specimen of one of these types from Mr. Spink's collection.¹ I might hazard in corroboration the suggestion that the high relief is more reminiscent of the usual style of Norbert Roettier than of his brother James, being more medalllic. The whole series of patterns reminds us of the Regency medals of 1690² attributed to the two brothers, and no doubt



PATTERN HALFPENNY OF WILLIAM AND MARY; MONTAGU, TYPE 4.

they both submitted various types before the current coin was selected. The jugate type held its sway until Mary's death, and some of the smaller pieces are not unpleasing, witness the sixpence here illustrated, but it is noticeable—although this is, of course, accidental—that in the



SIXPENCE OF 1693.

¹ Lot 117 in the Montagu Sale of July 15th, 1897: see also Montagu's *Copper Coins*, p. 67, 4, and *Med. Ill.*, vol. i, p. 690, No. 79.

² See our p. 243, and *Med. Ill.*, vol. i, pp. 704-5, Nos. 111-12.

second issue, when the halfcrown experienced some alteration, the head of the King concealed that of the Queen slightly more than in the original design.



HALFCROWN OF WILLIAM AND MARY ; SECOND ISSUE, 1691.

In many ways William recalls his predecessor Philip of Spain—in that each in turn married an English princess with a view to securing the co-operation of our country in foreign wars, and the futility of Philip's position may have had something to do with William's determination that his tenure of the monarchy should not be dependent on the Queen's life. Both princes, poles asunder in their religious beliefs, cared only for the advancement of their creeds and the good of their native land—each valued England merely as an auxiliary to his own dominion, and it was as a foreigner although not as a conqueror that each desired to annex her crown. The heart and soul of William of Orange were with his father's people, who loved him, whilst they feared him as well, partly for his own prowess, partly for the glamour which hung around his ancestry. During a sad and ailing childhood early severed from all natural ties, his passionate nature had been schooled before he reached his teens, to a self-control which seldom left him. One definite object remained in view, the freedom of Holland from her enemies, and it fell out, that at a time when most boys would be content to find amusement in the chase, which was indeed, save that of war, his only pastime throughout his life,¹ William, finding that the authority

¹ Temple in 1668 describes William as "loving hunting as much as he hated swearing." *Memoirs of Sir William Temple*, by T. P. Courtenay, vol. i, p. 286, and Burnet in 1686 writes, "he hated talking, and all house games more. This put him on a perpetual course of hunting, to which he seemed to give himself up, beyond any man I ever knew." Burnet, iii, 133.

of the States in the person of the Grand Pensionary de Witt galled him beyond endurance, burst the bonds of guardianship. The Prince of Orange, becoming successively Captain-General and Stadtholder, kept his foes at bay : and but for his energetic opposition the Government would have consented to a dishonourable peace with France.¹ Under the guidance of William III.—for in Holland as afterwards in England William was the third ruler so called—the United Provinces resorted to the means adopted by his great grandfather William the First or “ the Silent,” against the Spaniard of old, and the young leader justified his name together with the motto of the family : “ *Moi je serai Nassau—je maindiendray.*” Possibly this proud maxim was balanced in his mind by those other words inscribed above them upon his flag, when he invaded England : “ *Pro religione et libertate*”² ; for these also represented his highest ideals. As a Dutch historian has said of him, “ he risked his life times innumerable ; he ventured his domestic happiness in the service of his policy, when he united himself with a woman who, not until much later, won his heart by her self-sacrificing love ; and he overcame his personal inclinations by submitting to the limitation of his royal power in England, the necessary condition of his elevation, which assured to him England’s help against France.”³

An undaunted and renowned, although not always a successful general,⁴ William was a firm believer in the hereditary right of his race to govern autocratically, but when at the age of eight and thirty he came to England with matured judgment, although dominated by the same inflexibility of character, with which he had asserted himself in his youth—he could not put forth a plea for absolute sovereignty, partly because “ *Divine right* ” was the war cry of the Stuarts whom he came to supplant, and partly because his one “ *right* ” to the crown lay in an Act

¹ Blok’s *History of the People of the Netherlands*, vol. iv, pp. 385–86.

² Petrus Blok’s *History of the People of the Netherlands*, vol. iv, p. 469.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 444. Translation by Oscar Bierstadt.

⁴ Mr. Fortescue in his *History of the British Army*, vol. i, pp. 356–57, ascribes William’s reverses in warfare as a general, partly to the fact “ that it would seem that his physical weakness debarred him from steady and sustained effort.” This author considers that “ he lacked tactical instinct, and above all he lacked patience ; in a word, to use a modern phrase, he was a very clever amateur.”

of Parliament. Nevertheless, even during his frequent absences from England the iron hand was felt within the glove, and by a threat that if thwarted he would return permanently to his native country, William was able to assume towards his ministers a position which was almost autocratic.¹

At the beginning of his reign he called both Whigs and Tories to his Cabinet, but finding the former more subservient he, as time progressed, appointed these in preference as his ministers,² with the result that he laid the foundation of that party government which became usual under Anne and her successors.

William was, however, naturally disposed to keep all possible power in his own hands.

He was by no means averse to the name of Defender or Preserver of the Faith, which was not only one of his official designations as our king, but was also in truth his title to the English throne, and which in his youth he had personally earned upon the Continent. On more than one occasion after his accession was he thus designated upon his medals, and the legend GVILIELMVS III. MAGNVS · FID · STAT · surrounds a fine bust by Jan Luder,³ which appeared upon medallic specimens celebrating the subjugation of Ireland in 1690,⁴ the triumphal entry into The Hague on January 26th (n.s.) or February 5th (o.s.), 1691, on his return to his native country from the Emerald Isle,⁵ and the Peace of Ryswick in 1697.⁶ All these medals are extremely rare, but I have been permitted to reproduce from the National Collection one of those commemorating William's return to Holland after his successful campaign in Ireland.

This Prince, of all Princes, disliked show and ceremony, but

¹ *James Francis Edward*, by Martin Haile, p. 39, and *The Royal House of Stuart*, by Samuel Cowen, vol. ii, pp. 435-36.

² *The Mother of Parliaments*, by Harry Graham, p. 33.

³ Jan Luder was a Dutch medallist who worked much for William and Mary in Holland, and is said to have visited England in his latter days: his medals are dated from circa 1680 to 1710—see *Med. Ill.*, vol. ii, p. 731.

⁴ *Med. Ill.*, vol. i, p. 723, No. 149.

⁵ *Med. Ill.*, vol. ii, p. 7, No. 163, and p. 11, No. 170.

⁶ *Med. Ill.*, vol. ii, p. 167, No. 450.



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convent chapels were destroyed, amongst others that of Lincoln's Inn Fields, which is here portrayed as in flames.



CHAPEL DESTROYED AT LINCOLN'S INN FIELDS IN 1689; *MED. ILL.*, VOL. I, P. 660, NO. 21.

Bower was never more successful than in this form of double portraiture, and we possess a sufficient number of his medals¹ to know that he turned all too readily to the rising sun, and threw in his lot with the cause of the House of Orange. Although we deplore the ugliness of the reverse decoration, the busts conjoined upon the obverse of the "accession," or as they are often called "coronation," medals are good examples of his skill, and if designed for distribution at the official ceremony on April 11th, 1689, they possess the extra attraction of being amongst the last medallic works of this artist, the dies being



BOWER'S CORONATION MEDAL, *MED. ILL.*, VOL. I, P. 663, NO. 26.

¹ See *Med. Ill.*, vol. i, p. 639, No. 64, p. 658, No. 18, p. 660, No. 21, p. 663, No. 26, and p. 668, No. 38. Nos. 21 and 26 are illustrated above; Nos. 78 and 38 so nearly

completed within a year of Bower's death, which occurred on the 1st of March, 1689-90, as I learn from information kindly supplied by Mr. Hocking, to whom I am indebted for many details concerning the medallist. The struck specimens of the larger of these medals¹ are rare, although the cast pieces are common enough.

The coronation medals of the royal pair are many and varied, but as was very naturally the case, the artists patronised by William were mostly foreigners, and Luder, the brothers Smeltzing, Boskam, Hautsch and others constantly depicted the Prince and Princess, now reigning monarchs in England. Jan Smeltzing, whose medal bears a fair portrait,² was a native of Leyden, and has already been noticed in vol. vi, p. 223, as the maker of certain medals portraying James II. He resided chiefly at his birthplace where he died, 1693, but he had also visited France. His technique was much esteemed, but his medals were often satirical and in bad taste, involving him in unpopularity. There was a younger Smeltzing named Martin, who also executed medals for William III.; but his style is inferior to that of the elder artist, whom he survived by several years, dying in February, 1713-14. Jan Boskam, some of whose portraits of William are very striking, came from Nimeguen, and worked during the Prince's lifetime in Amsterdam, and afterwards—between 1703 and 1706—in Berlin, whence he returned to the Dutch capital. It is known that he was in Amsterdam until 1708,³ but, so far as I can ascertain, the date of his death is not reported. George Hautsch was born in Nuremberg, and worked from 1683 to 1712 in that city and afterwards in Vienna. But it is not necessary to enumerate the productions of these artists, for at that time a

resemble 21 that I have not reproduced them and No. 64 portraying William alone is not very pleasing.

¹ *Med. Ill.*, vol. i, p. 668, No. 38.

² Jan Smeltzing's Coronation Medal, although not a very graceful portrait, is a good likeness, *Med. Ill.*, vol. i, p. 661, No. 28. It has been sometimes said that he was born at Nimeguen and that he died either in 1695 or 1703, but for the latest information see Forrer's *Dictionary of Medallists*. According to this author it is doubtful whether Martin was, as hitherto stated, his brother or was related to another Johannes Smeltzing, known as a die-sinker only.

³ *Med. Ill.*, vol. ii, p. 721, and Thieme-Becker's *Künstler-Lexikon*, vol. iv, p. 397.

medal was struck to celebrate every event, whether of importance, such as the Battle of the Boyne,¹ the entry into Dublin,² and the re-taking of Namur,³ or occurrences of more trivial incident. Every step was followed, such as the arrival of envoys to invite William to England,⁴ his departure from Holland,⁵ and his landing at Torbay, to be represented by a large series of medals from the hands of Bower, Luder, Smeltzing and others.⁶

But to John Roettier in spite of his known loyalty to the lost cause we, of course, look for an official coronation medal, which would naturally be demanded from one in residence at the Royal Mint, and for a moment we think that we find it in the specimen illustrated below. Hereon the reverse design is, however, rather unfortunately chosen, representing as it does the fall of Phaeton from his chariot, for the malicious said that it was suggestive of Tullia driving over the remains of her dethroned father.⁷



CORONATION MEDAL, *MED. ILL.*, P. 662, NO. 25.

But hereby hangs a tale, for the examples usually attributed to this artist vary slightly, two differing pairs of dies having been used; and it appears that the one should be considered as due to James, the other to Norbert, the two sons of John Roettier, who stated as much

¹ *Med. Ill.*, vol. i, pp. 714-19, Nos. 132-41.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 720-21, Nos. 143-45.

³ *Ibid.*, vol. ii, pp. 128-40, Nos. 378-402.

⁴ *Med. Ill.*, vol. i, p. 634, No. 58.

⁵ *Med. Ill.*, vol. i, p. 635-36, Nos. 59-60.

⁶ *Med. Ill.*, vol. i, pp. 637-41, Nos. 61-67.

⁷ *Med. Ill.*, vol. i, p. 662, and Macaulay's *History of England*, vol. iii, p. 120.

when presenting a petition to the Lords of the Treasury in March, 1689–90, for the appointment of joint engravers in the place of Bower deceased.¹ They put forward the plea that they had been “Engravers to y^e Mint in the two last Kings’ Reignes, and did make for their present Mat^{ies} the Coronation Medalls and Puncheons for the Gvynyes and halfe Crownes, and supplied Dyes to the Mint to Coyne with untill the Place was given to one Mr. George Bower’s, who is since dead.”

An earlier paper² gives a long report from the officers of the Mint on the then position of affairs, wherein they declare that owing to John Roettier’s illness, which I described at some length in a former volume of our *Journal*,³ his sons had “without his assistance engraved their present Mat^{ies} Greate Seals and made the Puncheons and Dyes for the Coronation Medalls and for the coyne of gold and silver that has hitherto been prepared.” We may, therefore, consider it certain that these portraits passed publicly as the work of John Roettier, still the official holder of the appointment, although the fact that the two sets of dies were the work of James and Norbert respectively was known to the Master of the Mint. It would appear that Neale—the Mint Master—was in favour of the coin-dies being made by James and Norbert Roettier, for in his first notification to the Lords of the Treasury of the death of “Mr. Bower, engraver to the Mint,” dated March 11th, 1689, he suggests on the question of refilling the vacancy that “if the King and their Lordships thought fit that the Roettiers (who know best how to do it) should be employed in it,” they might be so employed by the “master worker” without making any formal appointment, the cuneators in the meantime receiving the salary through him.⁴

¹ See *MS. Treasury Papers* in the Record Office, vol. vii, 79, where the subject is necessarily clearer than in the abstract of the *Calendar Treasury Papers*, 1556 to 1696, p. 110. The petition is undated, but calendared as “about March.”

² *MS. Treasury Papers* in the Record Office, vol. iv, p. 25, July 2nd, 1689. An abstract may be found in *Cal. Treasury Papers*, 1556 to 1696, p. 53.

³ *Brit. Num. Journal*, vol. vi, pp. 231–33.

⁴ *MS. Treasury Papers*, vol. vii, 63, calendared in *Treasury Papers*, 1556 to 1696, p. 106, in abstract only.

Many details are found in the manuscript *Treasury Papers* concerning the salaries to be apportioned to the various engravers, for Henry Harris also applied for the place of "Chiefe Graver of the Stamps and Irons," a post which he alleged "formerly belonged to the Chiefe Graver of the King's Seals, and was performed by himself, Servants, or such able men as he cal'd in to assist him."¹ He further asserted his capability, "having been educated in the Art and being now the Chiefe Graver of their Mat^s Seales"; but much doubt appears, on the face of the report just quoted, as to whether the Roettiers were not in truth the "able men" whom he "cal'd in to assist him" even in seal engraving.

In support of this suggestion there is the evidence before us of the claim of the brothers to the recognition of their work on the great seals of William and Mary,² and in the Appendix to Wyon's comprehensive book we find a warrant of the 10th January, 1695, ordering "James Roettieres and 'Bartie' (*sic* for Norbert?) Roettieres, His Mat^s Engravers in the Mint, to Engrave the New Seale" for William after the Queen's death,³ according to a draught already supplied. This example of the artists' skill was, after all, a mere repetition on the obverse of that in use under James II.⁴ with fresh legends⁵; it is, however, so far as one may judge from old waxen impressions, typical in general character of the workmanship of the Roettier family. Amongst the curiosities preserved in the British Museum there is a carved stone model in high relief, a pattern for a counter-seal, portraying William and Mary on horseback, but differing both in design and execution, from the reverse of the great seal used

¹ *MS. Treasury Papers*, vol. vii, 69, calendared in *Treasury Papers*, 1556 to 1696, p. 108, but not printed in full. The petition of Henry Harris is endorsed in another hand with the words, "For the King. Mr. Harris to have the Place and employ the Roettiers under him."

² *Wyon's Great Seals*, Plate XL. Used according to Wyon, p. 111, in March 1688-89, if not before, and commenced immediately on William's arrival in December, 1688.

³ See Wyon's Plate XLI, p. 112. Warrant in Appendix A. Extract G, p. 141.

⁴ Wyon Plate XXXIX.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 113.

in England during their joint reigns. We know so little about the technique of Henry Harris, that it is with the greatest diffidence that I ask whether this should be considered as a rejected composition of this engraver or one of his men, rather than as an unfinished design by James or Norbert Roettier, whose style it does not resemble, being markedly inferior to their usual productions. No artist's name is attached to it in the official catalogue.¹ During the life of Mary, for what reason we do not know, a fresh seal was ordered on the 5th of July, 1694; but the command was not carried out.² We learn, not from Wyon's copy of the warrant, which mentions no engraver, but from the Mint Catalogue, that in this year such a commission was entrusted to John Roettier,³ but certainly this model is not from his hand, and being undated we cannot tell whether it should be referred to this period or to the year 1689, for at that time also a proposed alteration in the arms on the obverse gave occasion for an order which was not executed.⁴ The *State Papers Domestic* contain many warrants addressed, however, to Harris ordering seals, such as "two new seals for our signet in February⁵ 1689-90," and again in March⁶ and in April, "four small seals for our Private Letters of Cashet"⁷; then follow in May alterations in the legend of the seal of the County of Chester⁸ from the name of James to those of William and

¹ No. xxxv, 110, *Detached Seals*, W. de G. Birch's *Catalogue of Seals in the British Museum*, vol. i, note on p. 69. The stone model was added to the National Collection by Mr. S. Clinch in 1832, and is figured in *Trésor de Numismatique et de Glyptique. Sceaux des Rois et Reines d'Angleterre*, Plate XXVIII, where, however, the fact that it is a variant from the great seal in use is not mentioned.

² Wyon, p. 111. Warrant in Appendix A. Extract F, p. 141.

³ *Mint Catalogue*, vol. i, p. 15.

⁴ Wyon, p. 111 and Appendix A, Extract E. Warrant of May 23rd, 1689.

⁵ *S.P.D.*, Entry Book 338, p. 171, Feb. 19th, 1689, calendared in *State Papers Dom.*, 1689 to 1690, p. 4, as Warrant Book 34, but the numbering is now changed, and I give the references at present in use at the Record Office.

⁶ *S.P.D.*, Entry Book 338, p. 241, March 19th, 1689. Calendared *State Papers Dom.* as above, p. 30.

⁷ *S.P.D.*, Entry Book 338, pp. 263 and 287, April 4th, 1689, calendared as above, p. 52.

⁸ *S.P.D.*, Entry Book 338, p. 332, May 10th, 1689, calendared as above, p. 97.

Mary; and a "new silver Seal to be used as our Privy Seal in August, 1690."¹ Again, we find changes in the County Seals in December,² and the great seal of Ireland figures on March 24th, 1689-90.³ We believe that such skill as Henry Harris possessed was principally devoted to seal engraving,⁴ but great pressure of work must have arisen at the beginning of the new reign, and he would be justified in seeking some assistance in spite of the brief respite allowed by such entries as the following, under date April 15th, 1689: "The old seal of the Exchequer to be used until a new one be made."⁵

Before leaving the subject of seals, I may mention that on September 11th, 1689, some interesting information reached William Bentinck, Earl of Portland, from an anonymous correspondent who wrote: "This is to acquaint you that the Great Seal of England is counterfeited, and as far as I am able to judge, for some military expedition in favour of the late King James, or for imitating some orders to the great prejudice of the King."⁶ It is not clear whether the writer refers to a forgery of William's new seal, ordered immediately after the Prince's arrival, or to the use by James of his copy, made in January, 1688-89, in France, of his own great seal which had been cast by him into the Thames in the previous December and which was recovered and restored to William. We notice that in the sister-kingdom of Scotland the great seal of James was in use until January 25th, 1690, when an order was issued for a new design to take its place.⁷

¹ *S.P.D.*, Entry Book 338, p. 460, August 10th, 1689, calendared as above, p. 219.

² *S.P.D.*, Entry Book 339, p. 36, December 20th, 1689, calendared as above, p. 363.

³ *S.P.D.*, Entry Book 340, p. 111, calendared in *State Papers Dom.*, 1689 to 1690, p. 525, March 24th, 1689-90. We notice that the wording of the order suggests the possibility that Harris had coadjutors, for we read, "Our will and pleasure is that you forthwth Engrave or Cause to be Engraved in Silver a Great Seale for Our Kingdom of Ireland," etc., etc.

⁴ *Cal. Treasury Papers*, 1702 to 1707, p. 297.

⁵ *Cal. State Papers Domestic*, 1689 to 1690, p. 64.

⁶ *Calendar of State Papers Domestic*, 1689-90, p. 250.

⁷ Proclamation of the previous January 25th, mentioned in a news letter of February, 1689-90. See *Greenwich Hospital MS. Newsletter Entry Book*, No. 2, p. 373.

All such warrants would naturally have been addressed to Harris in his official capacity—in whatsoever way the work was subdivided, but necessarily some agreement must have been made concerning remuneration, and James and Norbert Roettier, as the real performers of the duties entailed, claimed the larger share of the salary.¹ The position of affairs was rather complicated, but it appears from various papers and especially from the report² signed by Thomas Neale, the Master of the Mint, and presented to the Lords of the Treasury on July 2nd, 1689, that a certain grant was made by Charles II. to the three brothers Roettier on the 3rd of July, 1669, to make "Effigies and Designes for Gold and Silver Coins." This grant entitled them to receive £450 yearly during their joint lives, and was to be reduced by £100 on the death of each brother, the ultimate survivor being allowed £250 only; but besides this sum John Roettier had £450 per annum as "graver of Meddals and Agats." Thomas Neale states that they were also allowed by Indentures of the Mint, made in 1670 and in 1686, "which last was confirmed by their present Majesties in 1689 in sums of 325^{li}." The brothers of John Roettier had, as we have seen in my former article,³ retired to foreign parts, Joseph leaving for Paris in 1672 or 1673 and subsequently becoming *Graveur Général* of French coins in 1682; whilst Philip was nominated "Engraver General of the Coins of the Netherlands" on December 4th, 1684,⁴ and appears from the

Admiralty Papers. It was, however, in the previous April that the Scottish throne was declared vacant. The crown was offered to William and Mary, who took the coronation oaths on May 11th, 1689. It was shortly after this event, on May 23rd, that a new seal for England, bearing the addition of the Scottish arms, was ordered, but was apparently never finished. See *The Royal House of Stuart*, vol. ii, p. 321; Browne's *History of the Highlands*, vol. ii, p. 127. Concerning the seals see Wyon, pp. 111 and 141, Appendix A, Extract E.

¹ *MS. Treasury Papers*, vol. vii, No. 69. *Calendared Treasury Papers*, 1556 to 1696 p. 108.

² *MS. Treasury Papers*, vol. iv, 25. Calendared on p. 53 of the *Treasury Papers* of 1556 to 1696.

³ *Brit. Num. Journal*, vol. v, pp. 258-59.

⁴ See Forrer's *Dictionary of Medallists*, where it is also stated that on the 5th of August, 1686, he received the appointment of Engraver-General to the King of Spain in the Low Countries. He died towards the end of 1718.

Treasury Papers to have finally departed to take up his office some two months later¹ after some prolonged temporary absences from this country, extending at times over several years. In spite of these facts the patent continued "to run in the words, vizt.: To the three Roettiers as Chief Engravers of the Mint 325^{li} per an.," and the report proceeds to show that John Roettier was suffering from a disablement in his right hand, being "not able to work any longer and hath both very lately and this very day told us that he thinks of betaking himself the first good opportunity to Brussels, the place of his nativity."² Then follows the recommendation of the sons James and Norbert as being "good proficient in their father's art, with whom they have wrought jointly upon the Puncheons and Dies for the Mint for several years past." We know that John Roettier thought better of this plan of travel; nevertheless, it is clear that he ceded the cuneator's place to George Bower, and a minute of the following week, *i.e.*, July 9, 1689, shows that a warrant was given "to Bower to make a Puncheon for the halfe Guineys and to worke it in the Mint."³



HALF-GUINEA, 1689.

We may judge that the coin received the official sanction, whether or not we may find it in the specimen before us, for I learn from Mr. Hocking that Bower received a patent dated 19th October, 1689, authorising him to engrave designs for all coins and medals with an

¹ *MS. Treasury Papers*, vol. iv, 25. "Philip left England in about February, 1684-5, and is now in the Mint in Brussels." Mr. Forrer however states that he appears to have been in England on November 3rd, 1685, when his son Francis was born.

² *MS. Treasury Papers*, vol. iv, 25.

³ The reference for this minute is given in the *Calendar of Treasury Papers*, 1556 to 1696, p. 53, as *Minute Book* No. 1, p. 62, but the numbering at the Record Office has been changed and this *Minute Book* now stands as T. 29, 7 : p. 61, July 9, 1689.

allowance of £325 a year from the "feast of St. Michael the Archangel," 1689, *i.e.*, the previous 29th September. Bower died on the 1st of March following, the balance due of his salary being paid subsequently to his widow, "Grizell Bowers."¹ We know that neither the brothers Roettier nor Henry Harris lost any time in applying for his place, their respective petitions being before us in the month of March.² No doubt Harris considered, that like Bower his longer services warranted his preference over the younger Roettier, he having served officially under Charles II.,³ and holding the necessary confirmation, dated August 23rd, 1689, from William and Mary, which we find in a grant of £50 per annum to "Henry Harris, gent., of the Office of one of the Chief Ingravers of our Signetts Seals Stamps and Arms, the Engraving of ye Irons or dyes of the mint and medalls only excepted."⁴

In March, 1689-90, an arrangement was made between Harris and the sons of John Roettier, specifying that the £450 granted to the father should still be paid to them, that the fees of the Mint should be payable to Harris, and that he should hand them over to James and Norbert, minus £150 deducted for himself. With this compromise all were satisfied, "provided that the aforesaid 450^{li}, payable out of the Exchequer, be constantly paid them as well as the fee or fees payable out of the Tower, other wise the said Mr. Roetieres having large families are not able to maintain them out of so small an allowance as is otherwise payable for the said works."⁵

On these premises the two brothers agreed to give Harris their

¹ Information kindly supplied by Mr. W. J. Hocking, Assistant Superintendent of the Royal Mint.

² *Cal. Treasury Papers*, 1556 to 1696, pp. 108 and 110. *MS. Treasury Papers*, vii, Nos. 69 and 79.

³ *Cal. State Papers, Dom., Addenda*, 1660-70, p. 525, November 11th, 1670.

⁴ *S.P.D. Entry Book* 338, p. 443, dated August 23rd, 1689. *Calendared State Papers, Dom.*, 1689-90, p. 228, as *Warrant Book* 34, p. 443. The payments as we find in the original MSS. were ordered to date from "the feast of St. John ye Baptist last past," and to include all the perquisites, fees, etc., which "Thomas Symon or any other hath formerly held or enjoyed or ought to have held."

⁵ *MS. Treasury Papers*, vol. vii, No. 69.

assistance "in graving Irons and Dies for his Ma^{ties} Mint, seeming very imenible to it," although at first they had "desired to have the whole salary between them." These terms received at this time the assent of all parties concerned, and the document is minuted "Agreed to by the Board and Mr. Harris' Warrant ordered," but of the resultant wrangles between the engravers, we shall hear later. We must, however, at present return to the time prior to the appointment of Harris.

Whether Bower really made the die for the half-guinea is an interesting question. We observe that it is not mentioned in the list of dies prepared by the Roettiers previously to March, 1689-90, only half-crowns and guineas being specified,¹ and we have seen that on the previous July 9th such a coin was ordered, but the half-guinea as we illustrate it, on page 229, is not worthy of Bower's skill. Bower usually erred on the side of conventional precision rather than in a lack of technical exactitude, and the specimen before us is of rough execution. Both in technique and portraiture it is markedly inferior to his coronation medal made but a few months before; neither is it comparable with the guineas made by his rivals, James and Norbert Roettier, and but for the fact of Bower's obtaining the office of Chief Engraver, the doubt would cross the mind whether the half-guinea might not be the work of Harris or some inferior artist, and that the medallist was prevented by approaching death or failing powers from producing the die.² It would seem that some trouble was

¹ *MS. Treasury Papers*, vol. vii, No. 79, see also our p. 224.

² We must, however, note that Bower's medals are not by any means all equal in execution with those made for the coronation. The Torbay medal, for instance (*Med. Ill.*, vol. i, p. 639, No. 64), is a very poor production. I have an ornament obviously designed for the decoration of a box or book, which appears to be a direct and contemporary copy of the larger coronation medal (*Med. Ill.*, vol. i, p. 668, No. 38), and it forms a connecting link between the fine work of the latter and the rougher coinage. There are in the British Museum two snuff-boxes bearing the same heads, but much coarser in execution, and one of these being in impressed horn, a method not heretofore attributed to Bower, we must hesitate in pronouncing my jugate busts to be the work of this artist; the more especially because such snuff-boxes are usually attributable to the reign of Anne, and one of those in question agrees with this type, but my specimen is far sharper in workmanship than Obrisset's productions, which date from *circa* 1705 to 1727. The heads on the boxes are reproductions of Bower's medals, the horn being impressed from a die, the silver being cast.

taken to ascertain who would best perform the work of cuneator, for when the Mint officials had recommended the appointment of the young Roettiers on July 2nd, they were ordered by the Lords of the Treasury to "enquire after other engravers to serve and to come to their Lds when they are ready."¹ Possibly, however, Bower was not in enjoyment of his full powers, and the appointment was given to him as to an old servant, for although he lived, as we have seen, some five months after he received it, there is little good work which can definitely be ascribed to him at this period. We shall, however, find in the tin coinage strong corroborative evidence that Bower did produce dies for coins, and that these were not equal to his medals. There are in the State Papers² documents concerning the tin halfpence and farthings, and directions are given by Shrewsbury³ in the name of William and Mary in November, 1689, to the Commissioners of this coinage for "our portraiture and effigies with these words GVLIELMVS ET MARIA on the one side, and the figure of a woman sitting on a globe as was on the first Tynn Farthings and



TIN HALFPENNY OF 1690.

Halfpence with the word BRITANNIA, on the other side." Details are set forth concerning a "stud of copper wyre, in ye center," and the inscribed edge "NVMORVM · FAMVLVS and the year of our

¹ Endorsement on *MS. Treasury Papers*, vol. iv, 25, and Calendar of *Treasury Papers*, 1556 to 1696, p. 53, July, 1689.

² *S.P.D. Entry Book* 314, p. 19, "Warrant to Charles Godolphin, Esqre., James Hoare, Esqre., Controller of our Mint, and Andrew Corbett, Esqre., our Comm^{rs} for making Farthings and Halfpence of Tinn" calendared as H. O. Warrant Book V. in the *Calendared Treasury Papers*, 1689-90, p. 340.

³ Charles Talbot, 12th Earl and afterwards the only Duke of Shrewsbury, was at this time Secretary of State to William and Mary.

Lord," but we need not enter into these here, for they answer to the ordinary type with which we are all familiar.

A commission had been issued on the 12th of October, 1689, to Charles Godolphin, James Hoare and Andrew Corbet for making these coins,¹ but it would seem from the excessive rarity of specimens bearing so early a date, that the order of November was not carried out to any great extent previously to March 25th, 1690. Mr. Montagu tells us that he never met with an example of either halfpenny or farthing, but quotes the authority of Snelling and Batty for the existence of both.² Mr. Hoblyn, however, had specimens in his cabinet,³ and these have passed into the hands of Mr. Weightman, who has a second tin halfpenny⁴ from the same source in finer condition and from a different die, but I think from the same puncheon, and also a copper farthing of this rare type, and by his favour I illustrate two of the tin pieces⁵ of 1689.



TIN HALFPENNY AND FARTHING OF 1689.

A fine specimen of a similar halfpenny to that last mentioned is in the British Museum. Through the courtesy of Mr. Baldwin I have also had

¹ *MS. Papers Relating to the Revenue*, Brit. Mus. Add. MS. 6836, No. 16, pp. 84-90. (Mus. Brit. Bibl. Harl. Plut. XLVII, 1.)

² Montagu's *Copper Coins of England*, p. 62. Snelling's *View of the Copper Coins*, p. 38.

³ Hoblyn Sale, December 7th, 1906, Lot 153. The halfpenny mentioned by Snelling had the date in the exergue, and the figures 1689 are clear in this position on the farthing here illustrated, also a faint indication of such appears on one of Mr. Weightman's halfpennies. The dates on the edges of these three halfpennies being more rubbed are not so easy to determine.

⁴ Hoblyn Sale, Lot 154.

⁵ The farthing is from Lot 153, and the halfpenny from Lot 154.

the opportunity of carefully examining another tin farthing of the year 1689. He had originally called my attention to the marked peculiarity of the type of this date, which is so unlike the common tin coinage that followed it, and yet so like the half-guinea of 1689. Allowing for the fact of the longer legends in the shorter space, we shall see that some of the letters, especially the capital G and the V of GVLIELMVS, are in the half-guinea quite characteristic of Bower's medallic work, and this is even clearer in the tin coins. It is, however, not well to lay too much stress on lettering, and I leave our readers to judge for themselves by comparing the coin illustrated on our page 229 with the general portraiture of those now set before them, whether the hand of the same artist does not reappear in the high bridge and in the deep hollow, within the nose of William,¹ in the very rough work, and in the bust which is differently draped to that on the succeeding armour-clad halfpenny and farthing of 1690,² although not, of course, nude as on the gold. Now Snelling says that George Bower was employed from November 1st, 1689, for four months, and upon his death, Henry Harris and James Roettier,³ and I am glad to say that I have succeeded in finding his authority for this statement. A manuscript collection entitled "Papers Relating to the Seventeenth Century," amongst the Harleian documents in the British Museum, contains a copy of a warrant dated 22nd April, 1691, for payment by the Treasury of nine persons employed under "the Commission for Coyning Tynn Farthings," for services commencing at Michaelmas, 1689.⁴ Here we read that "George Bowers, deceased, was employed for four months from the first of November, 1689, att one hundred and fifty Pounds per añ, Henry Harris and James Roettiers, the present gravers att one hundred Pounds pr añ each from the 1st of Aprill 1690."

The story of the tin coinage carries us on to that of the copper, which followed it. In 1693 a patent was issued to Andrew Corbet to

¹ This characteristic is very marked in Bower's unpleasing medal of the *Landing of William of Orange at Torbay*, 1688. *Med. Ill.*, vol. i, p. 639, No. 64.

² See tin halfpenny illustrated on our page 232.

³ Snelling, *View of the Copper Coins*, p. 38, Note 3.

⁴ Brit. Mus. Add. MS. 6836, p. 91, No. 39.

replace the former currency in this more durable metal, but no coins corresponding to this date are, so far as I am aware, at present known, although Snelling mentions farthings of 1693.¹ Patterns were perhaps made for that year, for 1692 produced a copper farthing of peculiar type, a bust with long hair not unlike the ordinary tin, but quite different from its successors of 1694. One of these rare coins I reproduce from Mr. Weightman's cabinet.²



COPPER FARTHING, OF 1692, AND 1694.

Sir John Hearne and others took up the concession in the place of Corbet,³ but before long the usual complications where private patentees are concerned occurred, of which Ruding gives details. In January, 1695-6, insinuations were made, although not proved, of light weight, of base materials and of the scarcity of the amount put forth;⁴ the difficulty of obtaining the coins in exchange for the older tin issues was constantly alleged, some of the tradesmen objecting that they had so much of it left on their hands that they had to melt it at their own loss, and this was one of the complaints made against the Mint also during the Parliamentary inquiry of 1696-97.⁵ In the March of 1697-98, the objection raised two years earlier was reversed, the charge being that the Proprietors of the Copper Coinage had made "extravagant quantities of Copper Halfpence and Farthings, which are now become a greater Clog and Inconvenience to Trade than the

¹ Snelling, p. 42.

² The farthing of 1692 is extremely rare, but I have seen one in the National Collection and another in that of Mr. Baldwin, as well as the specimen here illustrated.

³ Montagu's *Copper Coins*, p. 63, and Ruding, vol. ii, p. 34.

⁴ *Commons Journal*, xi, p. 388, January 13th; see also Snelling, p. 40, and Ruding, vol. ii, pp. 45 and 50.

⁵ *Commons Journal*, xi, p. 775.

white Farthings were."¹ Finally, after many petitions had been read, a bill to stop the coining of "Farthings and Halfpence for one year"² passed the Commons on May 23rd, 1698, and was approved by the Lords on June 21st; but proposals to renew this Act on its expiration were, it seems, discussed although ultimately dropped.³ I understand from a well-known collector, that copper coins are seldom found in good condition of the year 1698 and are far from common, and this would appear natural, inasmuch as the prohibition commenced on June 24th, and only pieces struck after the previous March would bear the date 1698, so that we might expect a marked lessening of the output, and we can only account for the rarity of the poor specimens being no greater by the complaints we have quoted above of the "extravagant quantities" made at that particular time.

But let us return to the coinage as established at the beginning of the reign and glance at the gold and silver. We find that to prevent delay, because the dies to be made would require "some considerable time," a warrant was issued on February 15th, 1688-89, "to proceed to coyne the Gold and Silver Bullion now in the Mint, as also such Gold and Silver as shall be brought into our Mint, with the same Dyes that were formerly made and used for that Service untill the aforesaid puncheons and dyes with our Effigies and Arms shall be made and finished."⁴ Moreover, even as the year progressed, we see that although guineas and half-guineas are dated 1689 and that other denominations were ordered, the halfcrown is, with the exception of the Maundy money, the only silver coin bearing the names of William and Mary which was struck during that year.

The Maundy money presents a problem, for it is too rough to be fairly attributed to the Roettiers, neither can we class it with the half-

¹ *Commons Journal*, vol. xii, p. 136, on March 1st, and throughout the month, on pp. 154, 160, 167, 181, etc.

² *Commons Journal*, vol. xii, pp. 283 and 324; see also *Statutes of the Realm*, vol. vii, 9^o., Gul. iii, c. 36, p. 409.

³ Snelling, p. 41.

⁴ *S.P.D. Entry Book* 338, p. 165, formerly calendared in *State Papers Domestic*, 1689-90, p. 2, as *Warrant Book* 34, p. 165.

guinea and tin coinage of Bower, because the first distribution occurred on Thursday, the 28th of March, 1689, some time prior to the latter's official appointment of October 19th in that year. Very poor portraits appear to have been issued until 1691 and '92, when a slight improvement is seen in some of the pieces, but it was not maintained throughout.



MAUNDY GROATS OF 1689 AND 1694.

In the course of 1691 a change was made in the type of the half-crown, as we have seen on our examples on pages 213 and 217. The *Calendar of State Papers* as printed contains a clerical error, which implies the intention that the two-shilling piece should take the place of the shilling in the projected coinage of 1689,¹ but reference to the original manuscript clears up the mystery, and I give the document as I saw it at the Record Office to avoid possible confusion on this point, preserving the peculiar spelling of the time. The warrant is addressed to "Thomas Neadle (*sic* for Neale), Master and Worker of our Mint, to cause to be empressed upon our silver Coynes, vizt: the five Shilling peece, the two Shilling and six pence Peece, the shilling peace and ye sixpence, the Royall Arms marshalled as is depicted on a Draught which was directed to be done by our Rt Trusty and Rt Entirely Beloved Cousin and Council^{lor} Henry Duke of Norfolk Earl Marshall and shewed to Us and approved of by Us."² A second order to the same effect, but no doubt necessitated by the change of type in the halfcrown and the deferred

¹ The words appear thus accidentally misprinted in the abstract calendared in the *State Papers Domestic* of 1689-90 on p. 158, "Warrant to Thomas Neale ('Neadle') "master and worker of our mint directing him to impress on silver coins, viz: the 5^s piece, 2^s 6^d piece, the 2^s piece, and the 6^d piece, the royal arms, marshalled, as is depicted in a draught prepared by Henry, Duke of Norfolk, earl marshall."

² *S.P.D. Entry Book* 338, p. 377, June 19th, 1689. (This *Entry Book* is referred to in the *Calendar* as *Warrant Book* 34.)

issue of the other coins, is dated September the 15th, 1691, and in this instance the shilling is correctly mentioned in the *Calendar of State Papers Domestic*.¹

The pressure of work at the Mint and the death of the chief engraver, which, as we have seen, delayed the early issue of the English coinage, do not appear to have prevented the fact that the first Scottish dies and puncheons were sent to Edinburgh from the Tower, instead of being engraved in the North. The proclamation dated September the 26th, 1690, concerning the Mint of Scotland fixes the date of opening for October the 15th,² but although I have never seen a coin so dated, the forty-shilling piece is, curiously enough, known, according to Burns, bearing date 1689, and Robertson mentions that these rarities are found with edge inscribed both as "*primo*" and "*secundo*."³

The order of September, 1690, however, contained a reference to a previous Act passed by the Parliament of James II., which met at



FORTY-SHILLING PIECE OF WILLIAM AND MARY.

Edinburgh in 1686, and also specified the fact of William and Mary "haveing signed a warrand for coynade of the date the eight day of February last by past, for the severall species of silver coyne

¹ *Cal. State Papers Dom.*, 1690-91, p. 522. *H. O. Warrant Book* 6, now *S.P.D. Entry Book* 341, p. 183.

² Burns, *The Coinage of Scotland*, vol. ii, p. 508, and Cochran-Patrick, *Records of the Coinage of Scotland*, vol. ii, p. 226.

³ *A Handbook to the Coinage of Scotland*, p. 101.

conforme to the forsaid Act of Parliament," etc.¹ Burns suggested that the dies for the forty-shilling pieces were made in advance of the official opening of the Mint.² We find in the State Papers under date November 19th, 1689, a warrant addressed to "James Roetteirs, chief graver of our Mint in the Tower of London," directing him "forthwith to engrave and finish all such Puncheons, Counter Puncheons, Matrices, and Dyes for the silver Coin of our Kingdome of Scotland as are desired of you by the Generall or Master of our Mint in our said Kingdome."³ At the same time Melville, the Scottish Secretary of State, directed that £200 sterling should be paid to William Denholme of Westshiells, master of the mint of Scotland, or his order for defraying the cost of the instruments for the Scottish mint "to be made in our Tower of London for the use of our said Mint."⁴

The warrant addressed to Roettier is of interest not only because he is therein styled chief engraver, and because it corroborates the minute of the Privy Council, quoted by Burns and given *in extenso* by Cochran-Patrick, which states that the dies were brought from England,⁵ but still more because to James Clark, the engraver of the

¹ Cochran-Patrick, vol. ii, p. 226. The Act of 1686 is given on pp. 209-215 by Cochran-Patrick, but he does not print the order of February 8th, 1690, although he gives various documents from November 7th, 1689, onwards, including one of April 11th, 1690, ordering "Mr. Hary Aldcorne, Essay Master, to bring before the Lord Cardross generall of the Mint, the head punchons and reverses of the fourtie shilling and ten shilling peices," etc., and reference is therein made to the king's commands for "thrie pund peices, fourtie, twentie, ten and five shilling peices." See Cochran-Patrick, vol. ii, p. 222.

² Burns, vol. ii, p. 508. The prescribed weight and design for the forty-shilling piece is given with that of the other species in a warrant of September 26th, 1690 (Cochran-Patrick, vol. ii, p. 227), and no mention is therein made that this coin was already current.

³ *S.P. Scotland Warrant Book* 14, No. 209, p. 213, calendared in the *State Papers Domestic*, 1689-90, on p. 324. I find in the original MS. that this warrant, dated from Holland House on November 19th, 1689, gave instruction that when finished the dies, etc., should be delivered to Lord Melville, Secretary of State for Scotland, or some person appointed by him.

⁴ *S.P. Scotland Warrant Book* 14, No. 211, p. 214. This order is addressed by Melville to the collectors of revenues of the Kingdom of Scotland, Sir Patrick Murray and James Oswald.

⁵ Burns, vol. ii, p. 508, and Cochran-Patrick, vol. ii, p. 222.

Scottish Mint, are due the coins prepared for William III. after the death of Mary,¹ and Burns suggests that he may possibly have made the dies for the copper pieces of the earlier coinage.² The question is far from easy to decide, for the halfpence are not always to be found in a fine state, and the best I have seen, here illustrated from the National Collection, does not equal the silver by James Roettier. On the other



SCOTTISH HALFPENNY, WILLIAM AND MARY.

hand, neither does it particularly resemble the later coins by Clark, who was inclined to exaggerate the King's nose. The pistole of 1701, a revival of gold currency in Scotland, and a reproduction of which I place before you for comparison, is a good example of James Clark's



SCOTTISH PISTOLE, 1701.

style, and we see that he was a fair workman, although not so flattering an exponent of the King's features as was James Roettier, or his successor Croker, who had by this time replaced the latter at the English Mint.

William, like James I., who was James VI. in Scotland, adopted the expedient of omitting numerals after his name, calling himself simply GVLIELMUS · DEI · GRATIA on his Scottish coins to avoid the anomaly of being the third monarch of the name in England and the second only in the North.

¹ Cochran-Patrick, vol. ii, pp. 244, 249, 256, and 278.

² Burns, vol. ii, p. 515.

In Ireland it has always been objected against William that he rewarded his favourites at the expense of the country, and we have such testimony as that of Ailesbury that he was "mightily lavish towards his Dutch favourites and others whom he loved, but by paper, not out of pocket;"¹ but, to give the devil his due, he set right one crying evil in restoring the Irish currency. A halfpenny was issued as soon as possible by him bearing his own portrait with that of Mary, and he called in the Gun-money of James II., proclaiming it, until finally recalled



IRISH HALFPENNY OF WILLIAM AND MARY.

from circulation in February, 1690-91, at its intrinsic value.² This important reduction causing the so-called crowns and large halfcrowns to be current at a penny, the small halfcrowns at three farthings and the shillings and sixpences at one farthing each, was made immediately after the Battle of the Boyne, which was fought on July 1st, 1690. This victory, so important to William, inasmuch as it practically terminated the Irish defence of his father-in-law's cause,³ the pacification which followed it,⁴ and the new king's entry into Dublin,⁵ were celebrated by the striking of various medals, mostly the work of foreigners, amongst whom I may specially mention Jan Luder and Regnier Arondeaux.⁶ William is depicted on horseback about to cross

¹ Ailesbury's *Memoirs*, p. 502.

² The proclamations of July 10th, 1690, and of February 23rd, 1690-91, of William, with regard to the Gun-money, the former altering the value and the latter withdrawing it from circulation, are published in the "Coinage of Ireland" by Philip Nelson in the *British Numismatic Journal*, vol. i, pp. 250-51.

³ *Med. Ill.*, vol. i, pp. 714-19, Nos. 132-41.

⁴ *Med. Ill.*, vol. i, pp. 721-23, Nos. 146-49.

⁵ *Med. Ill.*, vol. i, pp. 720-21, Nos. 143-45.

⁶ Regnier Arondeaux was a Dutch medallist of Flemish origin who, towards the end of the seventeenth and the beginning of the eighteenth centuries, resided mostly in

the river,¹ or is personified as Hercules slaying the Hydra,² or again, the reverse shows us Bellona³ or the goddess of Liberty, in approval of his success,⁴ just as on his arrival he was typified by Jan Smeltzing as an eagle flying to the fray according to his saying that "he did not come thither to let the Grass grow under his Feet."⁵

The Irish campaign caused the most poignant anxiety to Mary, who writes in her private diary: "I dreaded to thinck my father and husband might once more meet in the field, and the fears that my father might fall by our arms, or either of them fall where t'other was present, was to me the dreadfulest prospect in the world."⁶ The departure of William necessitated the appointment of Mary as Regent, to act for him as well as for herself in the joint sovereignty, and her rule on such occasions is commemorated by many medals.⁷ These productions again are mostly due to foreigners, who were naturally employed by William to such an extent that the accusation is frequently brought against him that he preferred them to his new subjects, but any favour extended towards the Roettiers, although of Flemish origin, cannot be imputed to partiality: far from it, for they were the servants of the late king and were strongly suspected of disloyalty to his successors. Nevertheless, we look for some production on this occasion from the three talented members of this family, who were still in office at the Tower, and I bring before you from the National Collection the medal attributed to one of the two sons,⁸ although

the Netherlands, in Deventer and other places. He worked for William from 1678 to 1702, but the date of his death is not more exactly particularised "than probably in the first half of the eighteenth century." Thieme-Becker, *Künstler-Lexikon*, vol. ii, p. 49.

¹ *Med. Ill.*, vol. i, pp. 716-17, Nos. 136-38.

² *Med. Ill.*, vol. i, pp. 722-23, Nos. 148-49.

³ *Med. Ill.*, vol. i, pp. 714-15, Nos. 132-33.

⁴ *Med. Ill.*, vol. i, pp. 720-21, Nos. 143-45.

⁵ *Med. Ill.*, vol. i, p. 707, No. 117. See *The True History of the Lives and Reigns of all the Kings and Queens of England*, vol. ii, p. 243.

⁶ *Memoirs of Mary, Queen of England*, ed. by Dr. R. Doebner, p. 48, being printed from her MS. private diary in the Hanoverian State Archives.

⁷ *Med. Ill.*, vol. i, pp. 704-05, Nos. 111-13, and pp. 713-14, Nos. 128-31 in 1690, and in vol. ii, pp. 1 and 2, Nos. 152-54 in 1691, and again p. 81, No. 294, and p. 89, No. 308, in 1693.

⁸ See *Med. Ill.*, Plate LXXVII, 7.

it calls for little admiration in its rendering of the Queen's features. Her hair is dressed in the prevailing fashion, a mode which was singularly unbecoming to her, inasmuch as it accentuated the rather



MEDAL, MARY AS REGENT, 1690: *MED. ILL.*, VOL. I, P. 705, NO. 112.

receding forehead and the double chin, which was daily growing more apparent as Mary became fat.

The Queen gives some interesting details in her diary concerning her first regency, and explains that the king consulted her upon his going to Ireland "whether," to quote her own words, "in his absence all should be governed in my name, or if it should be left to the Privy Council with order to acquaint me with all things. I only desired he would take care I should not make a foolish figure in the world. I told him that the thing in effect was the same, for being wholly a stranger to bussiness, it must be the Privy Council must do things."¹ She proceeds to say that, "He therefore made choice of 9 persons to advise in his absence,"² a course with which she was pleased, for thinking, as we have seen, that women should not meddle in Government, she had always tried to talk with him on other subjects in order to distract his thoughts. "I have ever used myself," wrote Mary, "not to trouble the king about bussiness since I was

¹ *Memoirs of Mary, Queen of England*, 1689-1693, p. 22.

² The Regency Bill had provided that whenever William left the country, Mary should administer the affairs of the kingdom in their joint names.

married to him, for I saw him so full of it, I thought, and he has told me so himself, that when he would get from it he was glad to come to me to have his thoughts diverted by other discourse.”¹ Nevertheless, it was through correspondence with the Queen that William conducted the affairs of the kingdom during this and her subsequent regencies, and we find that he had great reliance on her judgment, leaving her, as he did, at moments of great anxiety.

We can but agree with a modern writer, who says of him : “ The self-reliant, calm audacity which had prompted him to send back his transports from Torbay continued to guide him, and in 1691 he went to take the command in Flanders with as much apparent security as if the seething discontent he left in England had been personal loyalty and affection. Ably seconded by his wife, he conducted the affairs of England in minute detail from abroad, while prosecuting the intricate diplomatic relations which resulted in the Great Alliance, and while engaged in an arduous war with France, which would have taxed to the utmost the powers of a lesser man.”² His prolonged absences were partly attributable to the necessity of his presence in the field, partly to his absolute confidence in his wife’s capacity for government, and partly to the fact that he had accepted this kingdom more as a source of supplies to humble the pride of his enemies abroad than from any pleasure that he found in residing in this country. That Mary tried to avoid doing anything of importance without consulting him is clear, although her regencies were many and long ; and she remarks in a letter to the Electrice Sophia of Hanover in 1693 :— “ There has never bin a year yet since the first I came into England in which the King has not bin longer away. I think almost 8 months in the year he is from home ; that is one of my croses.”³ She was an able woman, but overwhelmed by fear of displeasing her husband and of rendering him jealous by putting herself forward. He unfortunately gave her a different cause for jealousy, and she was perhaps

¹ *Memoirs of Mary, Queen of England*, p. 23.

² *James Francis Edward*, by Martin Haile, pp. 39–40.

³ *Memoirs of Mary, Queen of England*, p. 108, letter dated Kensington, 1693, December 29/19.

not altogether wise in masking her really admirable intelligence, for had she earlier shown him her mental qualities he might possibly have turned less frequently to her clever maid of honour for intellectual conversation. Elizabeth Villiers,¹ for whose sake William, almost from the moment of his marriage, neglected his wife, had no physical attractions, but great powers of mind; so much was this the case that Swift writing to Stella said of her: "she is the wisest woman I ever saw"; on the other hand he describes her as "squinting like a dragon."

In spite, however, of Mary's knowledge that she was not the first in his affections, her loyalty rose above his neglect, and in her French diary, written in 1688, she describes her feeling on hearing of the possibility that the birth of a brother might deprive her of her heirship to the English crown, and says that not on her own account does she care, but only for the sake of William and her religious creed. "Apart," writes Mary, "from the interests of the Church, the love I bear the Prince makes me wish him all that he deserves, and though I regret to have only three crowns to bring him, I am not blinded by my love; no, I can see his faults, but I say this because I know his merits also."² She became devoted to her husband, as is attested by her diary, which tells us of her anxieties on the score of his health, of her fears for his safety, her joy at his return or at his approval of her administration,³ and of her misery when under the impression that her father was implicated in a plot for his murder, which she all too readily believed,⁴ just as she credited the rumours

¹ Elizabeth Villiers was the daughter of Sir Edward Villiers, and her mother was governess to the daughters of James II. Elizabeth went to Holland with Mary on her marriage in 1677, and accompanied her on her return to England in 1689. After the death of the Queen, William broke off his connection with Elizabeth, who then married Lord George Hamilton, whom William created Earl of Orkney. She died in 1733.

² *Lettres et Mémoires de Marie, Reine d'Angleterre*, p. 63, by Comtesse Bentinck: "Eh bien que je regrette de n'avoir que trois couronnes à lui porter ce n'est point mon amour que m'aveugle, non je puis voir ses fautes, mais je dis cecy parce que je connois aussi ses mérites."

³ *Memoirs of Mary, Queen of England*, p. 33.

⁴ *Memoirs*, pp. 54 and 57. In 1692 a Frenchman named Barthélemi de Grandval purposed to assassinate William in the Netherlands, but the plot was discovered in time

that her brother was a supposititious child.¹ A letter from James II. to the Electrice Sophia shows how much grieved he was at the knowledge of Mary's distrust. "In Holland," writes the King, "they talk of my sonne as if he were a suposed child, they that beleve such a falcety must think me the worst man in the world. I suppose they judg me by themselves, for els they could not thinke me capable of so abominable a thing."²

The unfilial attitude of his daughter towards James has caused much argument, but her diary attests that it was not without the greatest pain that she decided between her duty as a daughter and as a wife; she depicts her sorrow at leaving Holland, where she "knew the persons and the way of living," for England, where she "was now grown a perfect stranger." She writes: "The uncertainty of what might be done there, the misfortunes of my father, the thought of coming in his place, the lining of all this together made me very loathe to leave Holland. . . ."³ Yet when I saw England, my native country, which long absence made me a stranger to, I felt a secret joy . . . but that was soon checked with the consideration of my father's misfortunes which came immediately to my mind. The joy of seeing the Prince strove against the melancolly, and the thoughts that I should my husband see owned the deliverer of my country made me vain; but alas, poor mortal! thought I then, from who has he delivered it, but from my father. Thus were my thoughts taken up, and while I put the (b)est face on, my heart suffert a great (d)eal."⁴ Again she writes: "I saw my husband in a prosperous Way and blessed God for it, and was sorry I could not so much rejoice as his wife ought, neither was I so sad as became a daughter of a distressed king."⁵

to prevent the attempt. Boskam's medals commemorated Grandval's execution on August 13th (n.s.), 1692 (*Med. Ill.*, vol. ii, pp. 75 and 76, Nos. 287-88). There are other designs by inferior artists. (*Med. Ill.*, vol. ii, p. 77, Nos. 289-90.)

¹ *Lettres et Mémoires de Marie, Reine d'Angleterre*, pp. 72-76 and 87.

² Letter dated Whitehall, September 28th, 1688, published in 1886 by Dr. Doebner in the same volume with Mary's Private Diary, see *Memoirs of Mary*, p. 72.

³ *Memoirs of Mary, Queen of England*, p. 7.

⁴ *Memoirs of Mary, Queen of England*, p. 10.

⁵ *Memoirs of Mary, Queen of England*, p. 3.

We must not think that the Queen's diary was written with a view to self-justification, for she tells us that at one moment, fearing a Jacobite invasion, she kept the papers in a bag tied to her side, "resolving if anything happened to have them ready to burn."¹ We cannot regret that these pages, meant for no unauthorised eye, were published in 1886, for they afford a much-needed palliation of the levity with which Mary appeared to the astonished public to enter on her reign. "It was believ'd," wrote Evelyn on the day of the proclamation of the new King and Queen, "that both, especially the Princesse, would have shew'd some (seeming) reluctance at least, of assuming her father's Crown, and made some apology . . . but nothing of all this appear'd: she came into Whitehall laughing and jolly, as to a wedding, so as to seem quite transported."² Evelyn's further description of her conduct is too well known to need verbatim repetition; he comments on her running from room to room to examine the furniture, on her at once taking possession of the apartments lately occupied by James II. and his wife, on her resuming, without delay, the practice of playing basset in public, and finally remarks that "she takes nothing to heart."³ The contrast between the demeanour of the husband and wife does not escape her critic, for "the Prince," says Evelyn, "has a thoughtful countenance, is wonderfull serious and silent, and seems to treat all persons alike gravely, and to be very intent on affaires," but this comparison was hard on Mary, who, as Burnet tells us, "was acting a part which was not very natural to her."⁴ He says that he took her to task concerning the bad impression she was making on her new

¹ *Memoirs of Mary, Queen of England*, p. 39.

² Evelyn's *Diary*, Feb. 21st, 1688-89, describing the events of the 13th, vol. iii, pp. 271-74.

³ Mary's behaviour was also blamed by her uncle, Henry, Lord Clarendon, who states in his *Diary* (vol. ii, pp. 148-49) that he remonstrated with her on her conduct and she said that: "It was true she did call for cards, because she was used to play, and she never loved to do anything that looked like an affected constraint." "I answered that I was sorry Her Royal Highness should think that showing a trouble for her father's misfortune should be interpreted by anyone as an affected constraint. At all this she appeared not a jot moved."

⁴ Burnet's *History of his own Times*, vol. iii, p. 406.

subjects, and that she told him "that the letters which had been writ to her had obliged her to put on a cheerfulness, in which she might perhaps go too far, because she was obeying directions." William had heard it rumoured amongst his English adherents "that she was not well pleased with the late transactions" and had written to her before she left Holland telling her to appear cheerful in order that her friends might not be discouraged—and in thus controlling his wife's conduct he exposed her with his usual selfishness to the opprobrium which was really his due.

Ailesbury comments on her placing her husband in all things before her father. "She, as a good wife (whether she had a suitable return I question much), submitted patiently, but had her anxieties of mind continually on her. She was wise and prudent and well foresaw the fatal consequences which might have attended her in case of refusal, so outwardly she submitted, but God knows what she suffered inwardly and to a high degree, but she was prudent, and her conduct the same, and endued with all noble qualities toward God in the first place, and toward man."¹ Ailesbury possibly wronged William to some extent, for in spite of his cold unsympathetic nature he became finally much attached to his wife, and his affection for her is reported to date from the time when he understood that she was not his rival for power. Burnet² tells us that when he was in Holland, so early as 1686 he boldly stepped in where angels fear to tread, but proved himself no fool, for he asked Mary whether she would consent to share the throne with her husband should she ever succeed to it, and have the crown vested in him during his life, "because a titular kingship was no acceptable thing to a man, especially if it was to depend on another's life."³ He obtained from her a very definite

¹ Ailesbury's *Memoirs*, vol. i, p. 299.

² Burnet visited Holland in 1664, but only for a short time; he held a living at Saltash, and was afterwards Professor of Divinity at Glasgow. After the accession of James II. he left England and returned to Holland in 1686, and settled there, returning to England in 1688 with the Prince of Orange, who made him Bishop of Salisbury in 1689.

³ Burnet, vol. iii, p. 138.

answer. She said "she did not think that the husband was ever to be obedient to the wife," and whilst she promised William "he should always bear rule, she asked only that he would obey the command of 'Husbands, love your wives,' as she should do that of 'Wives, be obedient to your husbands in all things.'"¹ This submission fell in with the views of William, who is reported to have said that "he did not choose to be gentleman-usher to his own wife." Her absolute loyalty won his affection, and that he appreciated her devotion is clear inasmuch as at her death he said of her that "during the whole course of their marriage he had never known a single fault in her"; or again that "there was a worth in her that nobody knew besides himself,"² and when it came to his own turn to die a lock of her hair was found in a locket suspended by a black ribbon over his heart. His expression on hearing that there was no hope for the Queen's recovery "that from being the happiest, he was now going to be the miserablest creature upon earth," was indeed true, and so great was his anxiety and grief that during her sickness, when he was in constant attendance upon her, he fainted often, being, as the bishop tells us, "in an agony that amazed us all." His natural courage would in any case have bidden him brave the smallpox—the illness which had attacked Mary and which has been truthfully said to be "the enemy of the House of Orange," having deprived William of both father and mother at an early age—but he was safe from infection, having passed through this disease in his youth.³

Mary was a great loss to the country, for her influence was for good—but from the point of view of art it was almost nil. True, she patronised artists to some extent but without much success, although in emulation of Lely's presentments of the "Beauties" at Windsor Castle in the time of her uncle Charles,⁴ she commissioned Godfrey

¹ Burnet, vol. iii, p. 139.

² Burnet, vol. iv, p. 247.

³ William nearly succumbed to smallpox in 1675, and was only saved by the devotion of his lifelong friend and servant William Bentinck, afterwards first Earl of Portland.

⁴ Lely's *Beauties* painted by order of Anne, Duchess of York, the mother of Mary, were originally placed at Windsor, but were removed early in the last century to Hampton

Kneller to paint a similar collection for her new palace. To her consequently we owe the second "Beauty" series at Hampton Court, a doubtful boon, for these pictures show little of the skill which Kneller undoubtedly possessed, and her choice of models was characteristic of her, for she selected those whom she loved—her friends—for the purpose of portrayal rather than those who were accustomed to adulation as pretty women. The result was that she offended so many of her suite by the omission of their claims, that noting their ill-humour she asked Lady Dorchester the reason of her sudden unpopularity. "Madam," came the reply, "were His Majesty to order portraits of all the wits in his court would not the rest think he called them fools?"¹

As regards Mary's own personal appearance, pictures vary greatly. Kneller was a better painter of men than of women; Caspar Netscher's² presentment at the Rijks Museum is stiff and almost unpleasing, but there is a pretty little picture probably by this artist or one of his sons, Constantine or Theodore,³ in the National Gallery, which forms a rather favourable contrast to that by Wissing in almost the same pose, near which it hangs, and an example by Jan Verkolje⁴ at Haarlem displays an excellent complexion and other good points.

Court, where they now hang in William's State Bedroom. Some confusion subsequently arose in speaking of the paintings of Lely and Kneller, which were known in old days as "the Windsor Beauties" and "the Hampton Court Beauties" respectively; see *The History of Hampton Court Palace*, by Ernest Law, vol. iii, p. 30.

¹ Strickland, vol. vii, p. 399, Walpole's *Anecdotes*, vol. iii, p. 206, note 2. It appears that William and Mary were satisfied with these pictures, for Kneller was rewarded with a knighthood and "the additional present of a medal and chain worth £300." *Ibid.*, p. 207. Kneller's "Beauties" were engraved by John Faber, Junior, and are in the mezzotint more pleasing than in the originals. The picture of Mary herself no longer hangs at Hampton Court, but, judging from Faber's print, I believe it to be the painting now to be seen at Kensington Palace.

² Caspar Netscher, born in Heidelberg in 1639, died at The Hague in 1684, having resided there since 1660.

³ Constantine Netscher, baptized at The Hague on the 16th December, 1668, was buried there on 27th March, 1723 (n.s.); he was the pupil of his father Caspar. His eldest brother Theodore was born in 1661 at Bordeaux and resided much in France, but eventually fixed his residence at The Hague, and is said to have visited England in 1715; he died in 1732 at Hulst in Holland.

⁴ Jan Verkolje, born in Amsterdam in 1650, was chiefly known as a painter of small portraits. He settled in Delft in 1672 and died there in 1693.

Most artists portray her with darker hair than it is rumoured she possessed, but a pleasing oil miniature at Montagu House probably gives the correct colouring, and shows us a fair and quite good-looking woman, while the small painting by Verkolje mentioned above suggests a decidedly red shade of brown.

Miss Strickland describes a framed lock of her hair in a private collection as of "a pale brown" and of "an extremely fine and silky texture." The authenticity of this relic seems undoubted, for at the back of the frame is written by Mary's own hand: "My haire, cut off. March ye 5th 1688."¹ The dress of the day was singularly unbecoming to her, but the earlier portraits such as that illustrated opposite page 208 from the brush of Lely, painted before the fashion became general of dragging up the softer locks from the forehead, show us a rather handsome woman with the long Stuart nose, fine almond shaped eyes and well-formed mouth. It was, however, a rather uninteresting face which, unfortunately, as years advanced, grew too fat, the double chin so painfully apparent on her medallic portraits becoming much too visible by the time when, still a young woman, she ascended the English throne. A modern writer has commented upon her want of vanity in suffering such "painfully realistic medals" to be struck, and calls them together with those of her husband "the best index to the artistic instinct of William and Mary."²

The long series of medals commemorating the death of the Queen attests the general sorrow, but I will not inflict upon our readers a detailed description of the varied works executed by Luder, Boskam, Arondeaux and other artists.³ So far as I know them they are all inartistic, and did we depend upon these alone we should find it hard to realise that Mary was considered handsome by her contemporaries. In support, however, of this statement I may quote Mdme. de Sevigny's requiem pronouncement:—"She was but thirty-three, she was beautiful, she was a reigning queen, and she is dead in three days."⁴

¹ *Queens of England*, vol. vii, p. 230.

² *Pageant of London*, by R. Davey, p. 330.

³ *Med. Ill.*, vol. ii, pp. 106-24, Nos. 334-70.

⁴ Strickland's *Queens of England*, vol. vii, p. 444. Mary showed symptoms of

The description of her medallic memorials by Miss Strickland, no specialist in the matter, may be taken as a sample of the impression they would make on an amateur, who would put technical considerations aside. "Many medals," writes this historian, "were struck on the occasion of Mary's death; they chiefly represent her as very fat and full in the bust with a prodigious amplitude of double chin; the hair stuck up in front some inches higher than the crown of the head, as if the queen had just pulled off her high cornette cap; the hair is thus depicted as standing on end, very high on the forehead, and very low behind, a fashion which gives an ugly outline of the head."¹ The "cornette" referred to by Miss Strickland is brought before us in the facing engraving by John Smith² after a picture by Jan van der Vaart,³ to which the date 1690 is assigned in Smith's *British Mezzotints*.⁴ This head dress was an erection of lace frills stiffened by wires, and Addison tells us in the *Spectator* of June 22nd, 1711, that "about ten years ago," i.e. not long before the death of William, the lady's "head" or "fontange,"⁵ as it was sometimes called, "shot up to a very great height insomuch that the female part of our species were much taller than the men." In our portrait we already notice that Mary on her arrival in England was no longer the slender girl whose grace of figure, however, at the time of her marriage gave promise of the dignity of later years, when Burnet speaks rather of the "sweetness in her deportment that charmed,"

indisposition on the 19th or 20th of December, 1694; after a few days smallpox was declared and she died on the 28th of the month.

¹ *Queens of England*, vol. vii, pp. 463-64.

² John Smith, born 1652, died 1742, was much employed by Kneller to engrave his pictures, but he worked also for others, such as J. van der Vaart, from whom he received instruction in the art of mezzotint scraping.

³ Jan van der Vaart was born at Haarlem in 1647. He came to England in 1674, and was employed by Wissing to paint draperies and such details, but also painted portraits and still life on his own account. He ultimately became a mezzotint engraver and died in London in 1721.

⁴ Smith's *British Mezzotints*, vol. iii, p. 1198, No. 176.

⁵ The fontange was so called after a French court beauty, Marie de Fontange. Her hair becoming accidentally loosened whilst hunting, she hastily tied it up with a lace trimmed kerchief and was so much admired by Louis XIV., that the Court adopted a fashion which in time became exaggerated to a ridiculous height.



MEZZOTINT IN THE COLLECTION OF MR. W. SHARP OGDEN.

and of her "noble expression" than of actual beauty of features, although he lays stress on the fact that "her person was majestic, and created respect."¹ Waller the poet compared a picture of her by Wissing to a portrait of Queen Elizabeth,² but it is difficult to regard this likeness as being much more than a courtly comparison between her and one whom he considered, as he said, "the greatest woman the world ever saw," for according to Miss Strickland it was based upon a portrait not particularly representative of Mary.

Some of the Dutch medals avoid the coiffure to which Miss



MEDAL BY BOSKAM ON THE DEATH OF MARY: *MED. ILL.*, VOL. II, P. 107, NO. 336.

Strickland so rightly objected, and by favour of the British Museum authorities I hereby illustrate her bust as it appeared from the hand of

¹ Burnet, vol. iii, p. 133.

² Strickland's *Queens of England*, vol. vii, p. 142. "How do you like that portrait of my elder daughter?" asked the father, drawing Waller's attention to a fine whole-length of Mary just opposite to his chair. "My eyes are dim," replied Waller, "but if that is the Princess of Orange she bears some resemblance to the greatest woman the world ever saw." The king asked whom he meant, and testified some surprise when Waller answered, "Queen Elizabeth." "She had great ministers," dryly observed the King. "And when did your Majesty know a fool choose wise ones," rejoined Waller impressively. This story was no doubt taken by Miss Strickland from Samuel Johnson, who gives it in much the same words in his *Lives of the Poets*; see *Waller* in vol. ii, p. 337, edition of 1825. Johnson, however, admits that he had heard it told "of some other men."

Jan Boskam, a portrait frequently reproduced by this artist¹ and also by Jan Luder² with slight variations and differing reverses.

Many of these medals have representations on the reverse of catafalques, monuments and effigies, all of a fanciful nature, but portraying the lying-in-state at Whitehall or showing forth the coffin under its canopy at Westminster Abbey, and I cannot tell to which of these Miss Strickland refers when she calls attention to the fact that, although medallically represented, no monument of the Queen was ever erected in the place of her sepulture.³ May we not, however, say with Macaulay that from the point of view of usefulness, the memorial which William raised in her honour in the dedication of Greenwich Hospital as a retreat for seamen, was "a monument the most superb that was ever created by any sovereign," and the historian tells us that in the courtyard of the building "had the king's life been prolonged till the works were completed, a statue of her who was the real foundress of the institution would have had a conspicuous place."⁴ The reverses of two medals⁵ by James Roettier in the British Museum, known, however, only as roughly struck in lead, recall the lying-in-state, but a similar bust to



MEDAL BY ROETTIER ON THE DEATH OF MARY: *MED. ILL.*, VOL. II, P. III, NO. 344.

¹ *Med. Ill.*, vol. ii, pp. 107, 110, 114, 115, Nos. 335, 341, 349, 351.

² *Med. Ill.*, vol. ii, pp. 112, 114, 124, Nos. 345, 348 and 370.

³ Strickland's *Queens*, vol. vii, 464.

⁴ Macaulay's *History of England*, vol. iv, pp. 535-36.

⁵ *Med. Ill.*, vol. ii, pp. 122, 123, Nos. 366-67.

that appearing on the obverse of these rare memorials is seen upon the common copper pieces sold by Norbert Roettier and his brother at the Mint at the price of 5s. each and here illustrated. To James alone we owe another extremely rare specimen differing but slightly from this, although with another reverse, and composed of two thin plates united by a strong rim. All these portraits in turn strongly remind us of the Regency Medal portrayed on page 243.¹ To James Roettier also is now attributed the medal with the figure of a woman seated on a globe, which was at one time classified amongst John Roettier's possible works.² We have no reliable information as to the condition of the elder artist's disabled hands at this period, nor do we know whether he had sufficiently recovered to execute any tribute to Mary's memory. There are, nevertheless, some medallic portraits of the Stuart sovereigns, from Charles I. to Anne, concerning which I wrote in my article on King James II.,³ venturing for the following reasons on the evidence then before me to suggest that these clichés, if regarded as coming from the hand of one man only, might possibly be attributable to the failing powers of John, rather than to his slightly less expert, although at this time more efficient son Norbert. I thought it curious, unless the later specimens were the efforts of one whose powers were impaired, that this series of plaques should be of such uneven workmanship, and suggested that they were made at long intervals, those representing Charles I.⁴ and James II.⁵ being of a high order of merit, such as might have been executed in the plenitude of John Roettier's activity, during the lifetime of the latter king—in 1688 according to the date on the truncation of the shoulder—whilst, as our readers may see for themselves, some of those of William and Mary⁶ bear but faint traces of the same technical skill,

¹ *Med. Ill.*, vol. i, p. 705, No. 112.

² *Med. Ill.*, vol. ii, p. 121, No. 364, Plate C, No. 5, of the new edition of *Medallic Illustration of the History of Great Britain and Ireland*.

³ *British Numismatic Journal*, vol. vi, pp. 276–79.

⁴ *Med. Ill.*, vol. i, p. 347, No. 202.

⁵ *Med. Ill.*, vol. ii, pp. 215–16, Nos. 538–39.

⁶ William as represented on p. 256, and Mary on p. 259.



PLAQUE OF WILLIAM IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM BY AN UNKNOWN HAND: *MED. ILL.*,
VOL. II, P. 219, NO. 544. See pages 256 and 258.

although others again are gracefully conceived and of good quality throughout.¹ The fine plaque of William reproduced on our facing plate, appears to be, judging from the letterpress, a variety of that described in the first edition of *Medallic Illustrations of British History* on page 221, as number 546, a specimen then in the Franks collection, which bore the date of William's death, and which was considered by its possessor to be one of a set of memorials, designed in the reign of Queen Anne by Norbert Roettier. It has struck me as unlikely that he should use the English style of reckoning, if he designed the medallion after he had taken up his residence in France, and he would besides have little motive as the servant of the titular King James III. for making memorials of those who had supplanted his master. I regarded this bust of William as a connecting link

¹ Plaques illustrated on our facing plate.



SILVER PLAQUES OF WILLIAM AND MARY IN THE AUTHOR'S COLLECTION.

between the better and the inferior plaques, and deemed that the inequality of execution might be due to the intermittent nature of John Roettier's complaint. Recent research has, however, thrown more light upon the question of dates, and we find that some of these difficulties are now dissipated, but the differences of technique remain to be explained.

Assisted by the kindly co-operation afforded by Mr. Grueber, who now as always generously placed both his time and help at my disposal, I have studied the clichés in the British Museum together with the companion medallions on our plate, with the resulting agreement between us that the fresh data is of sufficient interest to justify publication.

Firstly, I must draw your attention to the fact that the portraits are a pair, contemporaneously framed alike, to form a single gift. Secondly, this particular bust of Mary has, so far as I know, never been seen without an obituary inscription. We may therefore safely conclude that the two plaques in my collection were struck soon after Mary's death, and may be dated before Norbert Roettier's departure from this country.¹

I consequently reconsider my suggestion so far as the pair of portraits of William and Mary are concerned, but I am still of opinion that the clichés representing Charles I. and James II. are of an earlier date and still better execution, and that on technical grounds we must regard the series as begun by John Roettier the father, whilst his sons, James and Norbert, carried out the elder artist's work in this matter just as they did upon the coinage, designing the puncheons as required.

Until quite recently I had never seen an example portraying Charles II. made in these thin silver sheets, a loss which I deplored in our last volume, now, however, there are two slightly varying specimens known to me, struck from a differing or altered die. Both appear by the courtesy of their possessors—the Duke of Atholl and Mr. Berney-Ficklin—on our next plate, and they will also be found on Plate CLXXXIII in the Appendix of the new edition of *Medallic*

¹ Norbert Roettier was still in England in April, 1695, see *Num. Chron.*, vol. ii, 1st Series, p. 254, and the exact date of his departure for France is not known, but is believed to have been in that year.

Illustrations of the History of Great Britain and Ireland, now in the press, one being uninscribed whilst the other (No. 206 in the *Exhibition of Stuart Relics* at Cambridge in the May of this year) bears a memorial inscription.

In treatment and design Charles II.'s bust agrees with those of Charles I. and James II., and is strongly reminiscent of the *Felicitas Britanniae* medal¹ and of the solid silver plaque,² illustrated in our fifth and sixth volumes respectively, also of various smaller medals, and I must therefore, with Mr. Grueber's concurrence, suggest that it be referred to John Roettier.

We may further notice the lettering which is used in the spelling of the name CAROLUS, for we find the vowel U instead of the more usual V in both medallions. The plaque of Charles I. bears a similar bust to the memorial advertised by James and Norbert Roettier in 1695,³ and this in its turn was probably a reproduction of that signed by their father John at apparently an earlier date,⁴ and which appears to me to bear a stronger resemblance to the cliché in question than does Norbert's signed medal with a differing reverse—so that possibly the medallion may be the original sketch.

There are in the British Museum other clichés of William and Mary, which I have been permitted to bring before you in the letterpress of our pages 256 and 259, but these are, as I have said, of less successful execution, and are no doubt, as now described in the new edition of *Medallic Illustrations*, the efforts of an inferior artist aiming at the same style of portraiture, and as such need not any longer be taken into consideration, whilst we are looking

¹ *Med. Ill.*, vol. i, p. 460, No. 53. Plate XLIII, No. 8. See our vol. v facing p. 252, where by a clerical error the medal was numbered 54.

² *Med. Ill.*, vol. i, p. 600. No. 287, Plate LXII, 10. See our vol. vi, p. 281.

³ *Num. Chron.*, vol. ii, 1st Series, p. 254, where Mr. Nightingale quotes an advertisement from a book of cuttings belonging to Matthew Young, and now in the collection of Mr. S. M. Spink, by whose courtesy I have examined it.

⁴ See *Med. Ill.*, new edition, Plate XXX, No. 10, 11–12, where the date 1670 is assigned to No. 11. There are three varieties, one signed by John, one by Norbert, and the other unsigned, and the last may be, I think, that advertised in 1695 by James and Norbert. The bust on the plaque is draped like John's signed medal, whereas that bearing Norbert's signature bears no mantle.



SILVER PLAQUE OF CHARLES II. IN THE COLLECTION
OF MR. BERNEY-FICKLIN.



SILVER PLAQUE OF CHARLES II. IN THE COLLECTION
OF THE DUKE OF ATHOLL.



PLAQUE OF MARY IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM, BY AN UNKNOWN HAND : *MED. ILL.*,
VOL. II, P. 106, NO. 333.

for the achievements of John Roettier or his sons.¹ A somewhat similar cliché portraying the Duke of Marlborough may be placed in the same class.²

Were it not that Obrisset, although he reproduced the Roettiers' portrait of Charles I.³ in horn and silver on the tops of snuff boxes, never so far as I can ascertain used the designs under discussion of the later monarchs, we might have thought that some of the specimens were due to him, but in the first place, although it is believed that Obrisset made dies for his horn medallions, the silver examples are usually casts taken from copies of known medals, and thicker in substance than those struck pieces. Secondly, he did little original

¹ *Med. Ill.*, Plates XCVII, No. 3, and CXIV, No. 2.

² *Med. Ill.*, vol. ii, p. 266, No. 63, Plate CXX, 9.

³ *Med. Ill.*, vol. i, p. 347, No. 202. This is the cliché of Charles I which we have been discussing.

work, and if he had designed these portraits he would hardly have discarded in preference to mounting them, for boxes exist signed by him and portraying William III., whom he usually represented on horseback. There are also examples with a peculiarly stiff bust of the monarch, the prototype of which I have never been able to trace medallically—or again, both in silver and in shell we find the King's head together with Mary's, their jugate busts being taken from Bower's coronation medal.¹ On these types I have not seen Obrisset's signature, but the technique of the dual portrait is more reminiscent of his style than the hard and formal portrait above mentioned.

Whether the silver portraits of William were originally intended for memorials or not, was until now a question of some difficulty. According to the evidence before the distinguished authors of the *Medallic Illustrations of British History* at the time of its first publication, the medallions were naturally regarded as such, because the only dated specimen referred to his death, and the general similarity in size and in design, although not precisely in execution, made the clichés appear as one series, carried forward to the reign of Anne.²

But some of the pieces in my collection throw light, as we see, on this matter, and point to an earlier origin. Quite recently, moreover, I acquired another portrait of William of similar type to the bust on our plate, although differing slightly in treatment and being in much lower relief. Here we have an exact date, for the figures 1697 are inscribed on the truncation of the King's shoulder.

The words which appear in the field of the medallion—PAX · EST · CONCLUSA—must refer to the Peace of Ryswick finally signed after

¹ See note 2 on p. 231, where the possibility is discussed of these boxes being the work of Obrisset. The equestrian portrait is found with this artist's signature in full, and with the change in the horseman's head is a mere reproduction of a specimen bearing the legend "Carolus Rex," and signed with the initials O. B., the most usual monogram of Obrisset, but giving my opinion for what it is worth, I should not be inclined to attribute the large bust of William in horn or shell to him. Marlborough was also represented by this artist, but the bust of the general is not taken from the plaque referred to on our last page.

² *Med. Ill.*, vol. ii, p. 231, No. 11, Plate CXV, 13. The medallion of Anne celebrates her coronation and will be discussed in a future volume.

much discussion in the October of that year, whilst the words of the legend celebrate William's triumph over the plots of his enemies, and read: GVLIEL · III · D · G · MAG · BR · FRA · ET · HIB · REX · CONSPIRATIO · DETECTA.¹ Apart from technical considerations this specimen can hardly proceed from the hand of Norbert Roettier, engraver to the English Court at St. Germain, for although Louis XIV. was a party to the treaty, it abrogated the rights of the deposed King James II. by acknowledging his rival William III.; and the medallion commemorated the defeat of plots for which the French monarch was held responsible. But Norbert's brother James was at that time still living, and had every possible motive for making a medal in glorification of William, having fallen into disfavour at the beginning of the year 1697 and being most anxious to be reinstated in the office from which he had been displaced. James Roettier as a rule worked in lower relief than his brother Norbert, and herein the medallion agrees with our observations. Moreover, although in the treatment of the hair and portraiture it bears the stamp of the Roettier family's workmanship, it does not appear to be by the same hand as any of the other medallions, but recalls the Dublin medal on which the signature of James is found,² as I hope to show by means of illustration in our next volume in comparing the medals executed in 1697. Norbert Roettier was no longer in London at this date, but with regard to the pair of portraits representing William and Mary, we have, I think, now proved that they were struck before his departure, and if the Queen's be not quite equal in every respect to that of her husband, it may be that the artist was hurried in preparing a memorial of her, as a pendant to an already existing bust of the King.

Be this as it may, the puncheons must have been left in England,

¹ The year 1697 opened with the execution of Sir John Fenwick on January 28th, 1696-97, for participating in Barclay's plot to assassinate William in 1695 and other treasonable practices. It is, however, possible that the words refer merely to the political situation terminated by the conclusion of the Peace of Ryswick on September 10th-20th, 1697, and its final signature on October 20th-30th, when William's position as king was acknowledged by the foreign powers, who had plotted for his overthrow.

² *Med. Ill.*, vol. ii, p. 197, No. 509.

for rare as the known varieties are, we believe that in some cases the same bust of William is found with and without the date of death, from which I argue that the lettering in the old style on the Franks memorial was an addition. In conclusion we may note that the portrait of William—the companion to that of Mary in my collection—is without date, and the pair must have been presented by the King himself, for who but he would cause the curious words to be inscribed above her bust, *QUIS · DABIT · SIMILEM*.¹ He considered her to be a queen whom none could replace, but such a sentence would not have been complimentary to Anne, if the memorials had been made after her accession. He also thought Mary irreplaceable as a wife, for otherwise he would probably have remarried after the death of the little Duke of Gloucester, in July, 1700, had left Anne without an heir, for we must remember that had William become the father of children by a second wife they would have been by the Act of Parliament in the direct line of succession, on the demise of his sister-in-law.² He had urged a like consideration upon Mary, telling her that should he die during one of his campaigns she must choose a second husband.³ Such adulatory expressions as the *QUIS · DABIT · SIMILEM* above referred to, are, however, not unknown as a tribute from the artist or the recipient of the gift; witness a contemporary miniature in enamel of William at Minley, on the back of which are engraved the words, “Like unto him, there was no king before him,” followed by the reference to 2 Kings xxiii, 25, thus comparing him with Josiah, king of Judah.⁴ If, however, the flattering

¹ These words are also inscribed on Mary's portrait in another private collection, and this also forms one of a pair with a plaque of William similar to mine.

² *Commons Journal*, vol. x, p. 24, February 8th, and p. 29, February 12th, 1688. The crown was assigned “to the Prince and Princess” (of Orange) “during their joint lives . . . or to the Survivor of them; after their Deceases, to the heirs of the Body of the said Princess, and for default of such issue to Princess Anne of Denmark and heirs of her body, and for default of such issue to the Heirs of the Body of the said Prince of Orange.”

³ *Lettres et Mémoires de Marie, Reine d'Angleterre*, pp. 80 and 91.

⁴ In the collection of Mr. Lawrence Currie. The full verse runs: “And like unto him was there no king before him, that turned to the Lord with all his heart, and with all his soul, and with all his might, according to all the law of Moses; neither after him arose there any like him.”

legend were incised by the artist and that artist be indeed any member of the Roettier family, it would serve as a corroboration of the little appreciated fact that Mary was kind to her father's servants. Also one cannot forbear wondering whether in the face of the allegation that John Roettier "would not take the oaths" and "would not ever serve the King," the toleration displayed towards him, prior to the Parliamentary enquiry into the affairs of the Mint, was not due to her influence, and whether his two sons were not employed at her desire.

Ailesbury, who "esteemed her as a princess that had no fault,"¹ tells us she showed great clemency towards himself, and that in general "her humanity was without example," whilst of William, although he admits that "he was far from being cruel," he writes: "he was not easy in forgiving, and I had too much experience of that, for why I know not to this hour."² This adherent of the Stuarts describes Mary when at a Council and tells us that a "list of persons to be taken up was presented to her, and my name at the head, on which her Majesty was graciously pleased to say I had sufficiently been made uneasy two years before, and for nothing, and for that reason my name should be struck out The first Secretary of State said that they had orders from the King, then in Flanders, at the Army. The Queen with warmth said: "My Lord, show me your orders." On which the Secretary of State replied; "Madame, we have received orders to clap up a certain number." On which she laughed, and with life and judgment added, "I thought persons were to be taken up for crimes and not to make up numbers as they empanel jurymen."³ Lord Ailesbury then tells us that she substituted the name of Robert Earl of Scarsdale for his, one whom presumably she considered more dangerously disposed to her husband. This shrewd

¹ Ailesbury's *Memoirs*, vol. i, p. 299.

² *Ibid.*, vol. ii, p. 502. Subsequently to Mary's death Ailesbury suffered a long imprisonment under William in 1695-96, his wife dying during his incarceration in the Tower. He was permitted to retire to Brussels in 1696, and died there in 1741, having married secondly a Countess of Sannu, in the Duchy of Brabant.

³ Ailesbury's *Memoirs*, vol. i, p. 298. Lord Ailesbury refers to the proclamation against those suspected of disaffection during the apprehension of a French invasion in July, 1690.

observer informs us that William without giving offence to his own countrymen did not always control his temper, that he had "an habitual way of striking his foot toward a person he was angry with, and doing the same thing after he was King toward an English lord he cried out: "I am not a Dutchman."¹ The fact remains that William, who "had a dry morose way with him, having seldom a merry countenance," was born a Dutchman, and understood his own people, being understood by them, but had not the secret of adapting himself to his surroundings, so that he once petulantly exclaimed to Sir John Fenwick²: "I care not whether you and all your people were under water."³ His manners were bad, and excited remark at the court, but we must remember, with Lord Macaulay, that "one misfortune which was imputed to him as a crime was his bad English,"⁴ whilst his foreign accent, his inelegant diction, and the poverty of his vocabulary contributed toward his taciturnity and brusqueness. One of his compatriots tells us on the other hand that "he spoke English, French, and German as easily as Dutch, and had a fair knowledge of Latin, Italian, and Spanish," and Burnet makes the same remark, so we must assume that his accent was less perfect than his acquaintance with our vernacular.⁵

Mary had received an admirable education, and was a perfect mistress of French, as we see by her letters and diary, published by Countess Bentinck,⁶ but as we have noticed from extracts from Mary's English diary, even the British-born princess was apt to make mistakes in both the spelling and diction of her native language, to which she had become unused during her long sojourn in Holland.⁷ This,

¹ Ailesbury's *Memoirs*, vol. ii, p. 390.

² It is said that the anger displayed on this occasion by William at the desertion of some of Sir John Fenwick's men serving in the Netherlands, was the cause of his subsequent animosity against the king. See p. 261, note 1.

³ *Ibid.*, vol. ii, p. 390.

⁴ Macaulay's *History of England*, vol. iii, p. 51.

⁵ *Court Life in the Dutch Republic*, by Baroness Suzette van Zuylen van Nyevelt, p. 237, and Burnet, vol. iv, p. 562.

⁶ *Lettres et Mémoires de Marie, Reine d'Angleterre*, being a collection of private papers of the Heeckeren van Wassenaer family.

⁷ Strickland's vol. vii, p. 11: see also Doebner, Preface to *Memoirs of Mary*, pp. 7-8.

however, also applied—though in a lesser degree—to her French composition, but allowance must be made for the usually defective orthography of the time. Her religious education was so thorough, that she had no difficulty in holding her own in arguments with her father.¹

Although to Mary we owe the recognition of the beauties of china or faience used for purposes of decoration, the majority of the *objets de vertu* imported by the royal pair were not such as to excite admiration. We have an instance of the fantastic and curious in the practice of impressing wood on horn with dies so as to make a medal. A certain Martin Brunner,² a German, made sets of draughtsmen on



DRAUGHTSMEN OF WILLIAM AND MARY: *MED. ILL.*, VOL. I, P. 688, NO. 75.

this principle, using, it is believed, a medal die for the purpose, inasmuch as we find the same portraits struck in lead and soft metal, possibly intended as proofs for the wooden pieces. They are also found sometimes in more precious substances—witness the silver gilt medallion,

¹ Correspondence between James II. and his daughter on his change of religion, pp. 4–24, in *Lettres et Mémoires de Marie, Reine d'Angleterre: Collection de Documents authentiques publiés par Mechtild, Comtesse Bentinck*. See also Mary's account of this in her French Diary, *ibid.*, pp. 57–61.

² Martin Brunner, born in Nuremberg in 1659, worked in Prague and Breslau, but returned to his native place and there died in 1725.

which I illustrate more on account of its rarity than for artistic reasons, the design being stiff and unpleasing.



SILVER GILT MEDALLION OF MARY II. BY MARTIN BRUNNER.

If William was unpopular because he was uncouth, the court ladies of the day found Mary a little dull, for although we see that she was not completely destitute of a sense of humour, they were accustomed to an atmosphere of wit and gaiety, and her sterling qualities did not appeal to them.

It is pleasant to hear that the Electrice Sophia of Brandenburg, herself a clever woman, said that Mary's "beauty equalled her mental gifts," but her accomplishments were more solid than attractive, and it was told of her that "she did not know one picture from another and had little or no ear for music, asking Purcell, a great composer of the day, to play a jig."¹ On the other hand if it be true that her only artistic employment was that of embroidery, we must remember that she had great responsibilities, and little time for recreation, the double

¹ *Pageants of London*, by R. Davey, p. 330.

business of managing the state and keeping William informed on all questions, falling upon her, as it did, during his frequent sojourns on the Continent. Moreover all authorities are not agreed as to her want of appreciation of art, for although she was not personally gifted in this particular, she encouraged the efforts of others, and we have records of her individual interest in the alterations at Hampton Court Palace. She had in Christopher Wren an enthusiastic admirer, and in his biography, written by his son, we read that she bestowed great attention upon his building plans and "pleased herself . . . to give thereon her own Judgment which was exquisite; for there were few Arts or Sciences in which her Majesty had not only an elegant Taste, but a Knowledge much superior to any of her Sex, in that or (it may be) in any former Age."¹ But without endorsing the very high estimate of her qualities, held by one whose father's designs she approved, even to the destruction of a great part of Henry VIII.'s beautiful old building—some allowance must be made for the taste of the time, when Versailles was the cynosure of all eyes, and undoubtedly Hampton Court with its admirable carvings is a monument to Mary's understanding of architecture and decorative design. From the point of view of the numismatist I would put forward for her the claim made by Miss Strickland,² that she gave her personal attention to the proposed improvement of the currency, although it was not carried out or even brought into prominent discussion during her lifetime, but the question of this great reform is so lengthy that we will, with your permission, resume the story of William's last years in another volume. Let us therefore be content to think of Mary as of a good wife and an honest Regent; of William in the words of Arondeaux³ upon one of his memorial medals, as "the greatest of the Dutch, the controller of minds and men."

¹ *Parentalia*, p. 326, by Christopher Wren, son of the great architect, published in 1750, by his grandson Stephen Wren.

² *Queens of England*, vol. vii, p. 430.

³ See *Med. Ill.*, vol. ii, p. 221, No. 547. The dedication on the medal runs NASSAVIOR PRINCIPI BATAVORVM. MAXIMO AC ARMORVM MODER-
ATORI. CONSECR.



SEVENTEENTH CENTURY TOKENS OF
NORTHAMPTONSHIRE (*continued*).

BY WILLIAM C. WELLS.

HARTWELL.

HARTWELL is situated seven and a half miles south-south-east of Northampton ; and from its exposed position it is sometimes called Wold Hartwell. At the time of the Norman Survey, William Peverel held four and a half and the fifth part of a hide of land in " Hertewelle," of the fee of Odo, Bishop of Bayeux, half brother to the Conqueror, Earl of Kent and Governor of the Castle of Dover, " the lock and key of the kingdom." Sir Simon Hartwell and his posterity were in possession of this manor for several generations. In the reign of Henry II. the lands were in the hands of several tenants, and in 1346, Walter Mauntell and John de Hertwell accounted for one fee here as held of the Honor of Dover, and subject to the annual payment of 20s. towards the guard of Dover Castle. In 1525, Thomas Grey, Marquis of Dorset, died seized of this manor ; and in 1527, his son Thomas gave it up to the king in exchange for other possessions in Leicestershire.

36. *Obverse*.—**WILLIAM . CHVRCH . OF**—A pair of scales. Mullets for stops.

Reverse.—**HARTWELL . HIS . HALF . PENY**—W.A.C. 1666.

Mint-mark, cinquefoil.

(Boyne, 32 ; Williamson, 34.) **Fig. 26.** Halfpenny.

penny per day each. The Bead-house, a fine fifteenth-century building, is situated near the Church. The charity still continues, but the beadsmen no longer live in common in the house.

The will of John Chettle, father of the issuer of this token, which was dated April 6th, 1679, and proved on May 19th following, is preserved at the Northampton Probate Registry. In it the testator describes himself as "John Chettle the elder of Chelveston cum Chaldecote in the county of Northton," and bequeaths "unto my sonn John Chettle of Higham Ferrers in the county of Northton, Chandelour, the summe of sixteene pounds w^{ch} is now in the hands of my sonne Romane Chettle labourer, it being the price of one hovell of wheate by mee sold unto the abovesaid Romane Chettle and still unpaid." Also "unto John Chettle the summe of three pounds by mee lent unto the abovesaid Romane Chettle and now in his hands. . . . Unto the aforesaid John Chettle the summe of two pounds and tenne shillings that is now in the hands of Jeremiah Wright the elder in the parish of Wellingborough Cordwind^r w^{ch} was lent to him out of my pockett. And I make the said John Chettle my sonne. Executor of this my last will and testament," etc.

38. *Obverse*.—**HENRY : CHETTLE**—A stick of candles.

Reverse.—**AT . HIGHAM : FERRES—H.C.**

Mint-mark, mullet. Farthing.

The following entries occur in the parish registers .

1658. "Mary y^e daughter of Henry Chettle was babtised y^e . . . day of June 1658."

1725. "Henry Chettle buried May ye 28th."

39. *Obverse*.—**THOMAS . IVDD . IN**—The Goldsmiths' Arms. 5-6

Reverse.—**HIGHAM . FERRERS**—A bunch of grapes. T.H.I.

Mint-mark, mullet. **Fig. 28.** Farthing.

The following entry occurs in the parish register :—

1689. "Thomas Judd sepultus Februarij decimo septimo."

A copy of the will of Thomas Judd will be given in the Appendix.

40. *Obverse*.—**GILBERT . NEGVS . 1669**.—The Blacksmiths' Arms, without the shield.

Reverse.—**IN . HIGHAM . FERERS—HIS . HALF . PENY . G.E.N.**

Mint-mark, rose. Engraved in Bridges' *History*.

(Williamson, 39.) **Fig. 29.** Halfpenny.

In the returns for the Hearth Tax of Charles II., Gilbert Negus was assessed for three hearths and a forge.

The following entries occur in the parish register :—

1684. "Gilbertus Negus sepultus est Decembris Octavo."

1687. "Johanes Negus filius Gilbertj sepultus est Martij tertio."

1715. "Elizabeth Negus widow of Mr Gilbert Negus sometime Major [Mayor] of the Corporation. Buried February ye 17th."

41. *Obverse*.—**TWYFORD . WORTHINGTON**—A goat holding a garland in its mouth. (The Worthington crest.)

Reverse.—**OF . HIGHAM : FERRERS—1656.**

Mint-mark, mullet.

(Boyne, 37 ; Williamson, 41.) **Fig. 30.** Halfpenny.

42. A halfpenny from different dies, the letters, numerals, and mint-mark being larger, and the period dividing the date absent.
Fig. 31.

This variety is engraved in Bridges' *History*, but the date 1666 is given in error.

Twyford Worthington was Mayor of Higham Ferrers in 1656, and it is possible that he issued the above tokens in his official capacity. He was assessed for three hearths in the Hearth Tax of Charles II.

The following entries occur in the parish registers :—

1639-40. "Elizabeth Worthington daughter of Mr Twiford and Elizabeth, christened ye 17 March."

1655. "An agreement of marriage Between Thomas Richards of Keysoe, gent, in y^e County of Bedford, and Elizabeth Worthington of this parish, Spinster, y^e Daughter of Twiford Worthington gent, hath been 3 times published, July 15 : 22 : 29 : 1655, according to y^e Act in that case made and provided, and no exception made

against y^e aforsaid Agreement, were married July 30th 1655 By
Mr Bletso Justice of ye peace."

1697. "Mrs Elisabeth Worthington of the Parish of Irtlingburgh
wid^w was buried July the 21th."

Twyford Worthington died between May 23rd, 1674, and the end of the following month; the parish register, however, does not record his burial, and it is probable that a separate register of burials (since lost) was kept in 1674 and 1675, as the existing register contains only one entry during those years. Some extracts from Twyford Worthington's will will be given in the Appendix.

The crest, on the obverse of these tokens, is evidently intended for that used by the Worthington family, several branches of which, in the seventeenth century, were established in Lancashire and Cheshire, and it would indicate that the issuer was a member of this family. As represented on the tokens, it appears to be slightly incorrect; for all the books of reference describe it as "A goat passant argent holding in the mouth an oak branch vert, fructed or." The family originally derived its name from the Manor of Worthington, in the Parish of Standish, Lancashire.

The main branch of the family established at Worthington is recorded in the herald's visitations, and can be traced back to the reign of Henry III. In the twentieth year of that reign the name of William de Worthington occurs in Testa de Neville, and in 1322 it is recorded that William de Worthington held half a knight's fee in Worthington. The main branch continued to reside at Worthington until about 1650.

IXWORTH—See "BRIXWORTH."

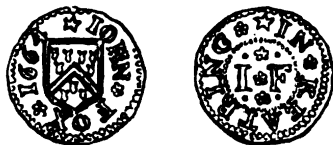
KETTERING.

The town of Kettering is situated fifteen miles north-north-east from Northampton. In charters, and other documents of Anglo-Saxon times, it is called "Cytringan" and "Kyteringas." In the year 956 it was given by King Eadwig to his goldsmith, Ælfsige; and in 972 King Eadgar, by charter, granted "Kyteringas" to the Abbey of

Medeshamstede (Peterborough), to which it appertained until the Reformation. Kettering is mentioned in Domesday Book thus :—

“The Church of St. Peter of Burgh (Peterborough) holds 10 hides in Cateringe, in land there are 16 carrucates, in demesne there is one carrucate and one bondwoman; and 31 villeins with 10 ploughs. There are two mills of the yearly value of 20s., and 107 acres of meadow, and 3 acres of wood. The yearly value was £10, it is now £11.”

James I. was lord of Kettering manor, and placed it in trust for his son, afterwards Charles I., by whom it was sold. The manorial rights now belong to the Duke of Buccleuch, and the Rev. Wentworth Watson of Rockingham Castle.



FARTHING TOKEN OF JOHN FOX OF KETTERING.

43. *Obverse*.—**JOHN . FOX . 1664** :—The Grocers' Arms.

Reverse.—**IN . KEATRING—I.F**

Mint-mark, mullet; cinquefoils for stops. Engraved in Bridges' *History*.

(Boyne, 38; Williamson, 44.) Farthing.

The name of the issuer of this token does not appear in the parish registers, but we find the following records of marriages :—

1702. “Thomas Fox and Elizabeth Dexter. Oct. 12.”

1707. “W^m Fox and Anne Knight. Oct. 7.”

These entries probably refer to sons of the issuer.

44. *Obverse*.—**JOHN . LADDS . OF . KET** :—1657.

Reverse.—**TERING . NORTHAM : SH** —I.A.L.

Mint-mark, losenge. Farthing.

45. A variety from the same dies, but dated 1664, the figures of the date having been altered in the die. The specimen illustrated, in the writer's collection, shows the two dates quite clearly. Engraved in Bridges' *History*.

(Williamson, 45.) **Fig. 32.** Farthing.

T 2

The following entries occur in the parish registers :—

- 1662. "Joseph the sonne of John Ladds and Hanah his wife, buried the 23rd day of October."
- 1669. "John Ladds the Elder buried the 11 day of Aprill."
- 1673. "Martha the wife of John Ladd, and John his son was (*sic*) buried the 24 day of August."
- 1677. "Anna the daughter of John Ladd and Elizabeth his wife baptized the 27 of November."
- 1678. "Thomas the son of John Ladds and Elizabeth his wife was baptized y^e 18 day of May."
- 1690. "John Lads buried December the 3^d."

It is doubtful which of the above entries refers to the token-issuer, as in every case the name of the wife differs from that indicated by the second initial on the tokens.

46. *Obverse*.—**JOSEPH . SPAROW . OF**—

Reverse.—**KETTRING . CHANDLER—I.E.S.**

Mint-mark, setfoil (?). Farthing.

The following entries occur in the parish registers :—

- 1649. "Joseph the sonne of Joseph Sparrowe babtiz^d the 9th day of December."
- 1652. "Elizabeth the daughter of Joseph Sparrowe babtiz. the same Day." (June 20.)
- 1654. "Henry the sonne of Joseph Sparrowe and Elizabeth his wife borne the 3^d day of October."
- 1656. "Samuel the sonne of Joseph Sparrowe and Elizabeth his wife borne ye 23rd day of October."
- 1657. "Mary the daughter of Joseph Sparrowe and Elizabeth his wife borne the 5th Day of November."
- 1659. "Hanah the daughter of Joseph and Elizabeth Sparrow babtiz^d Octob. 2nd."
- 1662. "Thomas the son of Joseph Sparrow baptiz. the . . . day"
- 1662. "Thomas the sonne of Joseph Sparrow and Elizabeth his wife buried the 18th of December."
- 1669. "Job ye sonne of Joseph Sparrow and Elizabeth his wife babtized ye 4th Day of September."
- 1678. "Elizabeth the wife of Joseph Sparow was buried the 13 day of Februar."
- 1686. "Joseph Sparrow was buried the 18th day of October."

Joseph Sparrow signs the registers, as Churchwarden, in 1657 and 1658.

47. *Obverse*.—**THOMAS . WEBB . MERCER**—The Mercers' Arms.

Reverse.—**OF . KETTERING—T.W.**

Mint-mark, mullet. Engraved in Bridges' *History*.

(Boyne, 40; Williamson, 46.) **Fig. 33.** Farthing.

The following entries occur in the parish registers :—

"The Intention of Marriage Between
Thomas Webb of Kettering And
Ann Baker of ye same hath Been
published in ye parish Church of
Kettering three Lords dayes without
any lett or contradiction."

} upon y^e 8 of March
} upon y^e 15 of March } 1656.
} upon y^e 22 of March }

"Thomas Webb And Ann Baker Both of Kettering were maryed on ye ninth of Aprill 1657 By Jo: Browne Esquire, one of the Justices of y^e peace assigned for the sayd County According to y^e late Act of parliament on this Behalfe made."

1660. "Mary the dauter of Thomas Webb and An his wife baptised May 13th."

1667. "Sarah the daughter of Thomas Webb and Ann his wife buried 29 April."

1669. "John the son of Thomas Webb buried the last day of Aprill."

1672. "Mary Webb buried the 24th day of Aprill."

1672. "Samuel the son of Thomas Webb and Ann his wife baptized 27 day of August."

1672. "Sara the daughter of Thomas Webb was buried the 20 day of November."

1674. "Thomas the son of Thomas Webb buried the 6 day of Aprill."

1674. "Joseph the son of Thomas Webb buried the 25 day of May."

1676. "Ann the wife of Thomas Webb was buried the 10 day of November."

1676. "Jonathan the son of Thomas Webb baptized the 11 day of November, his wife An."

1678. "Thomas the son of Thomas Webb and Ann his wife was baptized the 20 day of Aprill."

1701. "Thomas Webb and Mary Westfield. Jan: 6." (*Marriage*.)

Thomas Webb signs the register as Churchwarden in 1659 and 1660. Judging from an entry in the Manor court-rolls (*see* Appendix),

Webb removed to the neighbouring parish of Isham, where he was buried in 1717, as is shown by the following entry in the register of that Church :—

1717. "Tho: Webb Gent: was buried Augs 30th."

KILSBY.

The village of Kilsby is situated five and a half miles north by west of Daventry. At the time of the Norman survey, the monks of the Abbey of Coventry held two hides of land in "Chidesbi," which they received from Leofric, Earl of Mercia, in the reign of Edward the Confessor; the Bishop of Lincoln held them in the reign of Henry II.; and in 1316 "Kildesby" was attached to that see.

In 1330 Henry Burghest, Bishop of Lincoln, being called upon to show cause why he claimed the goods of felons, view of frank-pledge, assize of bread and beer, etc., within the manor of Kilsby, pleaded that the King, "out of devotion to the Blessed Virgin, the patroness of the Church of Lincoln, and his special regard for the claimant, had granted and confirmed these liberties to that see." The manor continued an appendage to the see of Lincoln until 1547, when the then Bishop conveyed it in exchange to the King in fee.



HALFPENNY TOKEN OF JOHN BURGIS OF KILSBY.

48. *Obverse.*—IOHN . BVRGIS . MERCER—HIS . HALF . PENY.

Reverse.—IN . KILSBY . 1670—I. M. B.

Mint-mark, rose. Engraved in *Baker's History*.

(Boyne, 41; Williamson, 47.) Halfpenny.

The parish registers, prior to 1785, are lost.

A copy of the will of the issuer of this token will be given in the Appendix.

KING'S CLIFFE.

The large village of King's Cliffe is situated seven and a half miles north north-west of Oundle. It was formerly the chief town of the east bailiwick of Rockingham Forest, and had a charter for a weekly market, which is now fallen into disuse. The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle records, under the year 778, that a battle was fought at King's Clive, in which Æthelbald and Hearbert slew Aldulph, son of Bosa.

At the time of the Norman survey, "Clive," which contained one hide and two virgates, was in the hands of the crown. Henry III. settled it on his Consort, and in 1315 it was in the hands of the then Queen. In 1462 a great part of the town was burned down, including the Royal residence, which stood south of the Church.

49. *Obverse*.—KINGS. CLIFFE. HALF. PENY—A crown.
Reverse.—CHAINGED. BY. Y^r. OVERSEERS.—A fleur-de-lys.
Mint-mark, set foil. Engraved in *Bridges' History*.
(Boyne 42 ; Williamson, 48.) **Fig. 34.** Halfpenny.
50. *Obverse*.—KINGS. CLIFFE. HLFE. PENY—A crown.
Reverse.—CHAINGED. BY^r. OVERSEERS—A fleur-de-lys.
Mint-mark, set foil. **Fig. 35.** Halfpenny.
51. *Obverse*.—IANE. BROWNE. 1660.—I.B.
Reverse.—IN. KINGSCLIFF—HER. HALFE. PENY.
Mint-mark, mullet. **Fig. 36.** Halfpenny.
52. *Obverse*.—IANE. BROWNE. IN.—I.B.
Reverse.—KINGSCLIFF. 1660—HER HALFE PENY.
Mint-mark, mullet. Halfpenny.
53. *Obverse*.—IANE. BROWNE.—1660.
Reverse.—IN. KINGSCLIFF . . .—I.B.
Mint-mark, a large rose. **Fig. 37.** Farthing.

The following entries occur in the parish registers :—

- 642-3. "John Browne the 17 of February." (*Burial.*)
1652. "John y^e sone of John Browne by report y^e 15 of August." (*Baptism.*)

1658. "John Browne, Decemb. 17." (Burial.)

Original from
UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

“Here lye the dear
Remains of **Thomas Law**
lately Grocer in this Parish: a
kind careful & Industrious Father
of a Large Family; a Tender &
faithful Friend & a Peaceful Honest
Neighbour who deceased on the
tenth Day of *October*, Anno Dñi 1714.

*And now Lord what is my Hope
truly my Hope is still in Thee.”*

KING'S SUTTON.

The village of King's Sutton is situated five miles south-east of Banbury, and six miles west by south from Brackley. King's Sutton being an ancient demesne of the Crown, the prefix was added to distinguish it from the other Sutton in the county.

At the time of the Norman survey, Sutton contained three hides of land, which were in the possession of the king. There was a mill worth 10s. 8d., a meadow of the value of 20s., and a market which yielded 20s. yearly. Besides these, Godwin, the priest, and Ulwin, held of the king three and one-fifth virgates; and the Earl of Mortain had a fifth part of a hide, and Hugh de Grantmesnil had one and a-half hides and the tenth part of a hide. In the reign of Henry II. this manor passed to the family of Camville, and thence to that of Longespée, which, in 1252, had a grant of a weekly market, and an annual fair on “the vigil, day, and morrow of St. James the Apostle,” but both market and fair have long since fallen into disuse. The Manor-House, an ancient mansion, stands near the church, and it is said that Charles II. was concealed here.



HALFPENNY TOKEN OF EDMUND CHANDLER OF KING'S SUTTON.

56. *Obverse*.—EDMVND . CHANDLER—HIS . HALF . PENY.

Reverse.—IN . KINGS . SVTTON—E.E.C. 1666. Cloves between the initials.

Mint-mark, cinquefoil.

(Boyne, 114 ; Williamson, 151.) Halfpenny.

LAMPOR.

The village of Lampport is situated eight and a half miles north of Northampton. At the time of the Norman survey, "Langeport" contained four hides and one virgate which were held by Fulcher, of Walter Flandrensis. There were 4 acres of meadow and a grove of ash trees, and the whole was of the yearly value of £4. There were also one virgate and one bovatc belonging to the Abbey of St. Edmund, and one bovatc the property of the Countess Judith. These lands passed afterwards into the Trussell and de Vere families, but early in the reign of Elizabeth they were purchased by Robert and John Isham, sons of Euseby Isham of Pychley, and they still remain in the possession of that family.

57. *Obverse*.—IOHN : BROWNING—St. George and the Dragon.

Reverse.—IN . LAMPOR—I.M.B.

Mint-mark, cinquefoil.

(Williamson, 57.) Farthing.

58. *Obverse*.—IOHN ∴ WEECH ∴ ∴ ∴ —The Mercers' Arms.

Reverse.—IN . LAMPOR : ∴ ∴ ∴ —I.W.

Mint-mark, rose.

(Boyne, 48 ; Williamson, 56.) Farthing.

59. *Obverse*.—IOHN*WEECH**—The Haberdashers' Arms.

Reverse.—IN*LAMPOR**—I.W.

Mint-mark, mullet. **Fig. 40.** Farthing.

The names of the issuers of these tokens do not appear in the parish registers.

LOWICK.

Lowick, or Luffwick, is situated two and a quarter miles north-west of Thrapston. At the time of the Norman survey, Edwin and Algar held here two hides, less one virgate, of the Bishop of Coutances; and Sibold held one and a half virgate of the Crown at the same time. In the reign of Henry II., the lordship was in the hands of several possessors; and in 1343 John de Nowers levied a fine of the manor. It subsequently came into the possession of the family of Greene, a member of which, Sir Henry Greene, obtained the grant of a weekly market here in 1385, to be held on Thursday, and an annual fair for three days, beginning on Whitsunday eve. The market has long been discontinued.

60. *Obverse*.—LEWES · SVLCH IN · 1666—A hart passant.

Reverse.—LVFWICK · ALIS · LOWICK—HIS HALFE PENNY.

Mint-mark, set foil. **Fig. 41.** Halfpenny.

The following entries occur in the parish registers :—

1674. "Lodovicus Zulch et Rebecca Spukling nupti erant Decemb: 22^o."

1675. "Rebecca filia Ludovic et Rebecca Zulch bapt: Decemb: 14^o."

1676. "Elizabeth ye daughter of Lewis Sulch and Rebekah his wife baptized November ye 23rd."

1677-8. "Dinah filia Lodovici et Rebecca Zulch babt: Feb: 3^o."

1679. "Lodovicus filius Lodovici et Rebecca Zulch babt: Aug: 31^o."

1683. "Frances ye daughter of Lewes Sulch and Rebekah his wife was baptized July ye 15."

1685. "Allice ye daughter of Lewes Sulch and Rebekah his wife was baptized January ye 2^d."

1728. "Lewis Sulch and Nathn^l Bales buried March 4."

An early book of accounts of the Overseers of Lowick, shows that Lewis Sulch was Overseer of the Poor in 1700. The accounts commence in 1681, and the name of Lewis Sulch appears in every levy made between that date and 1727.

An old manuscript list of Constables of the parish of Lowick, from 1685 to 1719, in the possession of the writer, shows that Lewis Sulch served that office in 1696, 1706, and 1707.

LUTTON.

The small village of Lutton is situated five miles south-east from Oundle. At the time of the Norman Survey, the Abbot of Burgh (Peterborough), to whom one, William, was under tenant, had two and a half hides of land in "Lidintone"; and the Abbey of Ramsey held half a hide here at the same time. In the reign of Henry II., Ralph Fitzwilliam held the two and a half hides of the fee of the Abbey of Burgh, and Ramsey Abbey still held the half-hide. In the reign of Elizabeth, the manor was in the hands of Lord Dacre, who conveyed it to Robert Loftys. About 150 years ago it was in the possession of Lord Westmoreland, but it is now, again, the property of the Fitzwilliam family.

61. *Obverse*.—**MATHEW. GOSTON**—A packhorse.

Reverse.—**OF. LVTTON. L O—M.M.G.**

Mint-mark, mullet. Mullets for stops.
(Williamson, 61.) **Fig. 42.** Farthing.

The name, Goston, does not occur in the parish register.

The initials "L O" on the reverse, may stand for Lutton Overseer, in which case this token should be considered a town piece.

The pack-horse represented on tokens indicated horses being for hire. It is stated that post-horses and stages were first established by regulation in July, 1483, soon after the accession of Richard III.; but in the stewards' accounts of disbursements for Sir John Howard, subsequently Duke of Norfolk, under date, April 17th, 1467, is the following :—

"Item, the same day my mastyr paid to the hakeneyman in part payment of the horse my mastyr hered to ryde to Stoke (-by-Nayland, Suffolk), xxxs."

MEARS ASHBY.

The village of Mears Ashby, or Ashby Mears, is situated three and a half miles west of Wellingborough, and seven miles north-east

from Northampton. It derives its name from the family of Mears, or Mares, which held the principal manor for several generations.

At the time of the Norman Survey, the Countess Judith held four hides of land in "Asbi"; and in the reign of Henry I. they were held of the fee of David, King of Scotland. In 1280, John de Mares accounted for half a knight's fee, and in 1295, John de Mareys was lord of the manor. At the same time, William Fitz-Warine held a third part of the township of the king of Scotland, by the service of lifting up his right hand towards him on Christmas day. From the family of Mares this lordship passed to Sir Henry Greene, kt., and the remainder passed to the Asheby family.

62. *Obverse*.—AT · MEARES · ASHBY.—PAVL GROVE

Reverse.—NORTHAMPTON · SHIRE.—A pair of scales, 1662.

Mint-mark, mullet. Farthing.

The name of the issuer of this token does not occur in the parish register, which begins in 1670, although the name, Grove, occurs quite frequently. The following entries probably relate to his grandsons :—

1677-8. "Paul the son of Roger and Sara Grove was baptized Jan. 27: '77."

1689. "Paul the son of Thomas Grove and Elizabeth his wife was baptized, March 28: 1689."

MOULTON.

The village of Moulton is situated four miles north-north-east of Northampton. At the time of the Norman Survey the manor of Moulton was in the hands of the Countess Judith. In 1316, John de Cromwell was lord of this manor, but in 1326, having incurred a forfeiture of his estates by contumaciously remaining abroad with the Queen, who was exciting the French Court against her husband, the manor was granted to Roger de Bilney. It then passed through the family of de Spencer to that of Beauchamp, and in 1487-8, was conveyed by the Countess of Warwick, widow of "the king

Maker," to the king in entail male, with remainder to herself in fee. In 1628, Charles I. granted it to the Corporation of London in return for moneys advanced to him, and soon afterwards the manor and estates were sold in lots.

63. *Obverse*.—**JOHN . PERYN . MOVLTON**—A pair of scales.

Reverse.—**NORTHAMPTON · SHER—I.P.**

Mint-mark, mullet. **Fig. 43.** Farthing.

64. *Obverse*.—From the same die as No. 63.

Reverse.—As No. 63, but from a different die. The initials are smaller.

Mint-marks, obverse, mullet; reverse, pierced mullet of six points. Engraved in Baker's *History*. **Fig. 44.** Farthing.

65. A variety from different dies, with mint-mark, mullet, on the reverse only.

The parish register for the fifty years previous to 1688 is lost, but the following entries occur in the remaining register :—

1713–14. "Item. John Perrin was buried January ye 27th."

1717. "Item. Elizabeth y^e daughter of John and Alice Perrin bur: Oct. 29."

At the end of the volume in which are recorded the above items, is preserved an account of the sums collected in the parish on various occasions; and we find that amongst those who contributed to a sum of money "collected upon the Brief for ye palatines, Nov: 14, 1709," John Perrin is set down as having paid twopence.

NORTHAMPTON.

Northampton is situated as nearly as possible in the centre of England, and eighty miles from the sea. A village or settlement existed here in pre-Roman times, and tradition asserts that it was founded by one *Belinus*, a British king.

Little is known of the early history of the town. It could have been scarcely more than a village when Alfred divided the kingdom into shires, yet, probably on account of its central position, it was selected to give its name to the county. "In 917," says the *Saxon Chronicle*, "after Easter, the army of the Danes rode out of *Hamtune* and Leicester." This is the earliest historical record we have of the town. In 1010, the Danes burned it, and laid the surrounding country waste ; and so it remained until the reign of Edward the Confessor, when it again recovered its position.

In 1064, the Northumbrians, with Morcar, their newly elected earl, at their head, advanced southward to Northampton, where Harold met them with the royal army and came to terms.

During these transactions the Northumbrians are said to have committed great outrages in this neighbourhood, killing the inhabitants, burning their houses and corn, and at last carrying many thousand of cattle and several hundred prisoners away with them.

Domesday says :—

"In King Edward's time there were in Northantone, in the King's demesne, sixty burgesses, having as many houses. Of these houses, fourteen are now waste. Forty-seven are left. Besides these, there are now in the new town forty burgesses in King William's demesne . . . The Burgesses of Hantone (Northampton) render to the Sheriff yearly thirty pounds and ten shillings. This belongs to his farm . . . The Countess Judith has seven pounds of the issues of the same town."

Domesday also gives a list of the houses belonging to various abbots and others, bringing up the total number to about 320. From being a comparatively small village of 60 houses in the royal demesne under King Edward, it had risen to be a town of 320 ; of which no fewer than 100 belonged to the king, and 85 to his half-brother, the Earl of Mortain ; his niece, the Countess Judith ; and to William Peverel. It had emerged from obscurity into fame, and for 250 years was constantly the scene of great events, and one of the principal centres of the kingdom. During the reigns of the Norman and

Plantagenet kings it often became their residence; and parliaments and conventions of state were frequently assembled here.

In 1260 a university was established, consisting of students who had deserted Oxford; and in 1263, in consequence of some dissensions, nearly the whole body of Oxford students removed here. At the siege of the town in 1264 the students took a decided part in favour of the barons, and they were ordered back to Oxford by royal proclamation, after having settled here for about four years. Many of the students of Cambridge having about this time also removed to Northampton, the king, after ordering them to return, issued an edict "that no University should ever after be attempted to be removed to, or founded in Northampton." A mint was established here, probably in the latter part of Edward the Confessor's reign; there is, however, no hard and fast rule by which the coins of this reign may be distinguished from those of Southampton, each town at that time being known as "Hampton." The prefix appears to have been given about the time of the Domesday Survey. The earliest coin which can be assigned with certainty to Northampton is a penny of William I. of Hawkins, Type 234, in the writer's collection, which reads "**SÆPINE ON NOÐ HANT**," and is believed to be unique. The mint continued in operation until the latter part of the reign of Henry III.

66. *Obverse*.—**S. R. IN. NORTHATON**—A Castle gateway.

Reverse.—No legend. Two lions, the one above the other, each passant gardant.

Mint-mark, mullet. The mint-mark is placed immediately above the central embattlement; and the *first* upright stroke of the *second* "N" touches the base of the castle.

67. A variety from different dies. The *second* upright stroke of the second "N" touches the base of the castle. The mint-mark, a mullet, is in the position as on No. 66.

68. A variety from different dies. The mint-mark is placed above the space between the first and second embattlements.

69. A variety having a mullet and a large square stop at the end of the legend. Mint-mark, mullet, as on No. 66. **Fig. 45.**

It is recorded in the Town Book that at an assembly held March 24th, 1652-3, it was resolved that :—

“Whereas there are diverse brasse half pence dispersed abroad in this town by diverse persons ayming at their private (lucres?) therein. It is ordered that the same shalbe all suppressed and that the Chamberlins of this town shall forthwth for the benifit of the poor disburse fortie shillings for farthin tokens to be stamped with the town arms upon them.”

The Chamberlains for that year were William Selby and Richard Rands, and the initials on the above tokens doubtless stand for their respective surnames.

William Selby served as Town Bailiff in 1643-4, and as Mayor in 1658-9. Richard Rands served as Town Bailiff in 1642-3, and as Mayor in 1666-7.

The following entry occurs in St. Sepulchre's parish register :—

“1669. March.—A stranger Being Found dead in a close commonly called Mr Pilkington's close was Buried in this churchyard, his name was reported to be John London. Mr Richard Rands, alderman, was Crowner, y^e 21 day.”

70. *Obverse*.—**I. S. IN. NORTHAMTON**—A Castle gateway.

Reverse.—No legend. Two lions, one above the other, each passant gardant.

Mint-mark, mullet. The mint-mark touches the first embattlement, and the initial “I” lines between the first and second embattlements. **Fig. 46.** Farthing.

71. A variety from different dies. The mint-mark, mullet, is lower, and the first embattlement divides “I-S.” Farthing.

72. A variety from different dies; similar to No. 70, but the divisions between the masonry are indicated by raised lines, instead of sunk lines as in the preceding varieties. **Fig. 47.** Farthing.

All the town pieces (Nos. 66-73) are of farthing size only, and are so described on account of their small size, although Nos. 70-73 were issued at the value of a halfpenny, and the earlier pieces (Nos. 66-69) were raised from the value of a farthing to that of a halfpenny

VOL. VII.

U

in accordance with a resolution passed at an assembly, held on April 27th, 1655; when it was—

“ordered that from henceforth the Farthings stamped or marked with the Armes of this Towne of Northampton shall freely pass and go currant and be esteemed and taken for halfepeece until it be otherwise ordered by the assemblie.”

It is recorded in the Town Book that at an assembly held November 12th, 1657, it was ordered:—

“That Mr John Stevens, one of the Chamberlaines doe provide a new stampe for brasse halfepeece to be used within this Towne in the same manner & to the same end & purpose as is provided by a former order.”

It is evident that the initials on the above tokens are those of the aforesaid John Stevens, who was one of the Chamberlains in 1657–8 and 1658–9. He also served as Mayor in 1668–9.

73. Obverse.—I T. IN. NORTHAMPTON.—A Castle gateway.

Reverse.—**CHAMBERLAINE · 1660.**—Two lions, one above the other, each passant gardant.

Mint-mark, mullet. Engraved in Snelling's *Copper Coin and Coinage*.

(Boyne, 64; Williamson, 84.) **Fig. 48.** Farthing.

This token was issued by John Twigden, who was Chamberlain in 1659–60. He also served as Mayor in 1660–1, and as Town Bailiff in 1644–5.

It is stated in Freeman's *History of Northampton* that John Twigden was committed to the custody of the Sergeant-at-arms and detained several days, which cost him 40s. per day for making a false return of members to serve in Parliament.

The Assembly of September 16th, 1652, voted “£5 each to Mr. Twigden and Mr. Collins to enable them to repair to London with letters to Mr. Gifford, and to join with him in soliciting the Trustees of Parliament for the sale of delinquent's estates, to obtain a purchase

of the meadows and mills belonging to the lordships of Duston on behalf of the Corporation."

In October, 1657, the Assembly ordered that William and John Selby, the persons entrusted with the receipts of Marvell's Mills, "do give an account thereof at the next Assembly," and that John Twigden and Joseph Hensman be appointed collectors for the next year.

At an assembly held May 2nd, 1662, it was ordered :—

"That the chamberlaines doe forthwith procure the brasse halfpence w^{ch} were the paste yeare called in, to be melted againe & new stamped wth some m^{'ke} (marke) upon them to distinguish them from the former stampe & that the said chamberlaines doe pay to ev^{'y} p^{'son} who brought in any of the old halfpence the full value thereof out of the new, in satisfaction to ev^{'y} p^{'son} accordingly."

The town books do not contain any record of money spent in the purchase of new dies, nor of the rescinding of the above order ; and as we have no tokens which can be identified with this order, it is probable either that the order was not carried out, or that John Selby, who was one of the Chamberlains in that year, used the dies which were made for John Stevens in 1657-8 (see Nos. 70-1-2), the initials "I.S." standing equally well for his own name. The tokens referred to in the above order as having been in "the paste yeare called in," probably were those issued by John Twigden in 1660 (No. 73), and this may account for the scarcity of these pieces.

The gateway, or tower and lions, represented on the Town Pieces forms part of the Town Arms, which, according to Burke's *Armory*, are : Gules, on a mount, Vert, a tower triple-towered supported by two lions rampant-guardant or; in the port, a portcullis.

74. *Obverse*.—**RICHARD . ALCOVY . AT . Y^e . ONE**—A pigeon, R.M.A.

Reverse.—**PIGEON . IN . NORTHAMPTON—HIS HALF PENY. 1667.**

Mint-mark, mullet.

(Williamson, 65.) **Fig. 49.** Halfpenny.

The following entries occur in St. Peter's parish register :—

1 2

1640. "Richard Awcott and Mary Hill both of Northton were married the 30th daie of June."
 1642-3. "William Aucut the sonne of Richard Aucott and Mary his wife babtized the 27 of March."
 1644. "John Aukt the soone of Richard Auct was baptizd ye 23rd of November 1644."
 1647. "An Aukut ye daughter of Richard Aulcut was baptizd ye 3 day of July."
 1674. "Richard Allcut was buried the 30 day of October 1674."

The issuer of this token appears to have been of West Haddon, and the son of William Awlcoat, whose will, made January 5th, 1632-3, and proved February 11th following, is preserved in the Northampton Probate Registry. In it the testator describes himself as "William Awlcoat of West Haddon in the county of Northampton, Taylor," and bequeaths to "my daughter Anne Awlcoat the some of tenne Pounds of good and lawfull english monye to be paid to her at the day of her marriage. All the rest of my Goods, my debts & legacies paid, my funerall expenses ended & my body brought to the ground, I give to my welle beloved wife Letice Awlcoat and my sonne Richard Awlcoat," etc.

75. *Obverse*.—EDWARD . COOPER . OF—A rose.

Reverse.—NORTHAMTON . 1654—E.E.C.

Mint-mark, on the reverse only, mullet. **Fig. 50.**
 Farthing.

The issuer of this token was a son of Thomas Cooper, Ironmonger, who served as Mayor in 1621 and 1633. He was admitted to the freedom of the Borough in 1632, as is shown by the following entry which occurs in the Roll of Freemen :—

"Edwardus Cowper filius Thome Cowper Ironmonger admiss fuit primo die Octobris 1632 iure natali et solvit." iiis iiiid

His trade is not stated, but in All Saints' parish register he is described as a Mercer, and in one entry, as a Linendraper and Mercer.

He was also landlord of the Rose and Crown Inn, which was then situated in Sheep Street, and nearly opposite the site now occupied by the "Cross Keys." The rose displayed on this token indicates that it was issued by Edward Cooper in his capacity as innkeeper.

He served as Town Bailiff in 1639-40, as Chamberlain in 1644-5, and as Churchwarden of All Saints' parish in 1645-6. In a subsidy, 18 Charles I., "Mr. Edward Cooper" of the Chequer Ward paid 5*s*. (See also note "Watch and Ward," page 303.) On his death, in 1660, he appears to have been succeeded at the "Rose and Crown" by his son, Edward, who took up his freedom in that year, as is shown by the following record which is preserved in the Roll of Freemen:—

"Edward Cowper the sonne of Edward Cowper, by birthright was admitted the 20 day of Sept. 1660 and paid." *iii*s* iiiii*d**

The "Rose and Crown" appears to have been consumed in the great fire of 1675, for in a tract entitled "A True and Faithful Relation of the late Dreadful Fire at Northampton," etc., printed in that year, we find it stated that the fire "Burned in Ship-street as far as the Rose and Crown and somewhat beyond."

The following entries occur in All Saints' parish register:—

- 1635. April. "Mary filia Edward: Cowper m'cer et Elizabeth ux eius bapt fuit xij die."
- 1640. September. "Elizabeth filia Edwardi Cooper m'cer, et Elizabeth uxor eius bapt fuit xxvij^o die."
- 1648-9. February. "Marie filia Mr. Edward Cowper mercer et Marie uxor eius bapt fuit xxv die."
- 1652. May. "Parvulus Mr. Edward Coopers sepult fuit 23^d die."
- 1652. July. "Parvulus Edward Cooper sepult fuit 9th die."
- 1653-4. March. "Thomas filius Edward Cooper linendraper et mercer, et Marie uxoris eius bapt. fuit xth die."
- 1656. June. "Elizabeth filia Edward Cooper mercer et . . . eius bapt the 1st day."
- 1657-8. January. "An Infant of Mr. Edward Coopers mercer buried 1st day."
- 1659. June. "Parvulus Mr Edward Cooper sepult fuit eode die" (5th).
- 1660. March. "Mr Edward Cooper mercer was buried 30th."
- 1699. April. "Edward Cooper, 12 day." (*Burial.*)

The last entry refers to Edward Cooper, junior.

76. *Obverse*.—**THOMAS . COOPER . IN**—The Ironmongers Arms.

Reverse.—**NORTHAMPTON . 1652—T.E.C.**

Mint-mark, mullet.

(Boyne, 55 ; Williamson, 68.) Farthing.

77. A variety dated 1668. Mint-mark, rose.

(Boyne, 56 ; Williamson, 69.) **Fig. 51.** Farthing.

The issuer of these tokens was also a son of Thomas Cooper, senior, and brother to Edward Cooper, the issuer of token No. 75. He took up his freedom in 1634, as is shown by the following entry in the Roll :—

“Thomas Cowper ironmonger filius Thome Cowp Ironmonger modo maior jur natali admiss fuit vicesimo die Septembris 1634 et solvit. iii^s iiiid

In the returns for the Hearth Tax of Charles II., “Mr Thomas Cooper,” was assessed for six. In 1656 he resided in the Chequer Ward. (See note “Watch and Ward,” page 303.)

The following entries occur in All Saints’ parish register :—

1654-5. January. “John filius Mr Thomas Cooper ironmonger, et Ann uxor eius bapt fuit vij die.”

1657. August. “Marie filia Mr Thomas Cooper ironmonger, et Ann uxor eius bapt fuit 30th die, natus 19.”

1661. July. “Hannah filia Mr Thomas Cooper ironmonger bapt. fuit eod die” (22nd).

1661. August. “Parvula Thome Cooper ironmonger sept fuit eodem die” (15th).

1663. October. “Parvula Thome Copper (*sic*) gent sepult fuit”

1664. July. “Thomas filius Thomas Cooper ironmonger bapt fuit 15th die.”

1664-5. January. “Ann uxor Mr Thome : Cooper ironmonger sepult fuit xxv die.”

1665. September. “Stephen filius Thome Copper (*sic*) gent, et uxor eius bapt xvth.”

1668. November. "Thomas filius Mr Thomas Cooper ironmonger sepult fuit xxvjth die."

1689. September. "Mr Thomas Cooper ironmonger buried the 16th day."

In the churchwarden's accounts of St. Giles occurs the following entry :—

"1653. For lead to Mr Cooper. o8. co. oo."

From the heavy items for lead, and by several entries relating to the bells, it would appear that there was a general repair of the church fabric about this time.

78. *Obverse*.—**AT . THE . WHIT . HIND**—A hind statant.

Reverse.—**IN . NORTHAMPTON . G.E.E.**

Mint-mark, mullet.

(Boyne, 57 ; Williamson, 70.) **Fig. 52.** Farthing.

This token was undoubtedly issued by George Ecton, the initials "G.E.E.," standing for George and Elizabeth Ecton. That the former was a Vintner by trade is shown by an entry in the Roll of Freeman, which records that "William Read apprentis Georgij Ecton Vintner admiss fuit tertio die Maii 1651, et solvit x^s." That he resided in the parish of All Saints', in which parish the "White Hind" was situated, is shown by the following entries which occur in All Saints' parish register :—

1637-8. March. "Elizabeth filia Georgij Ecton vintner, et Elizabeth uxor eius bapt fuit. 4. die."

1640. March. "George filius Georgij Ecton vintner et Elizabeth uxor eius bapt fuit xxix^o die."

1641. October. "William filius Georgij Ecton innholder et Elizabeth uxor sine bapt fuit iij^o die."

1642-3. March. "George filius Georgij Ecton innholder et Elizabeth uxor sine bapt fuit xij^o die."

1644. August. "Sarah filia George Ecton inholder et Eias (*sic*) uxor bapt: fuit xvijth die."

1646. May. "Samuell filius George Ecton inholder et Elizabeth uxor eius bapt fuit xxi die."

1653-4. January. "George Ecton innkeeper sepult fuit xvij die."

1655. October 28th. "Thomas Peach of Cotton end and Mrs Elizabeth Ecton of this parrish, widdow, was then out published."

[The register records that the above "intention of marriage," together with others, was published "at market" on that date.]

"Thomas Peach of Cotton end and Mrs Elizabeth Ecton widdow in this parrish were the next day (October 29th 1655) married by Justis Collis and Mr Richard Truman, Minister."

Richard Trueman, M.A., was acting as vicar of St. Sepulchre's, but was not legally instituted.

The Roll of Freemen, which commences in 1621, contains no record of the admission of George Ecton, but we find the following record of the admission of his son, the above-mentioned Samuel :—

"Samuel Ecton fil Georgii Ecton jure nali jure et admiss Decimo die Novembris 1664, et solvit. 3s. 4d.

Deeds in the collection of Mr. Stewart Beattie, of Northampton, show that the Hind existed as an inn so early as in the days of Henry VII. In 1585 it was ordered by the Assembly :—

"That the sygne of the harte nowe commonlye called the hynde, the Lyon, the Bell, the Swanne, the George, the Bull, the Aungell, the Dolphyn, the Sallet, the harpe, the Katherine Wheele, the Talbott, and the one called the Greene Dragon be admytted as auncient Innes within this towne, and all other houses having sygnes at their dores, and useing vitualinge to be admytted as Ale houses and not as Innes, and yearlye to put in Recognizances for keepinge of good Rule in their howses accordinge as heretofore hath bene used, or ells to be demissed at Mr Mayor's and the Justices discretion which for the tyme shalbe."

The Hind was destroyed in the great fire of 1675, but was rebuilt and continued down to the close of the eighteenth century. From the number of advertisements and other notices of balls, concerts, boxing contests, fencing matches, and other entertainments which were held at the Hind, it must have been of considerable importance and reputation. Many of these advertisements appear in the *Northampton Mercury* from 1721 onwards. It also served as a playhouse in the

early part of the eighteenth century. Amongst the plays produced here we find that on February 10th, 1724, for the benefit of a Mr. Berriman, there was acted "a play call'd Hamlet, Prince of Denmark."

The site of this old-established inn is now occupied by the front of the Corn Exchange, on the Parade.

The White Hind (or Hart), was the favourite badge of Richard II.

At a tournament held at Smithfield in 1390 in honour of several distinguished foreigners, we are told that "All the Kynges howse were of one sute, theyr cotes, theyr armys, theyr sheldes, and theyr trappours, were browdrid all with whyte hertys, with crowns of gold about their neck, and chains of gold hanging thereon, which hertys were the kings leverye, and he gaf to lordes, ladys, knyghtes, and squyers, to know his household people from others."¹

79. *Obverse*.—**IOHN . LABRAM . IN THE**—A sugarloaf.

Reverse.—**DRAPERE · NORTHAMPTON—I.S.L.**

Mint-mark, mullet.

(Boyne, 58; Williamson, 71.) **Fig. 53.** Farthing.

The issuer of this token was apprenticed to Joseph Sargeant, mercer, who served as Mayor in 1644, 1656, and 1671; Bailiff in 1632, and Chamberlain in 1637, and was admitted to the freedom of the Borough in 1642, as is shown by the following entry which appears in the Roll under date April 24th of that year.

"Joh̃s Labram apprentisus Joseph Sargeant admiss fuit eodem die et solvit." x^s.

He resided near the lower end of the Drapery, on the east side, and probably on the site now occupied by the White Hart Inn, as is shown by his will (a copy of which is given in the Appendix). He did his turns of "Watch and Ward" for the Chequer Ward in 1656. (See note "Watch and Ward," page 303.)

¹ Vide *History of Signboards*.

The following entries occur in All Saints' parish register :—

- 1643-4. January. "John Labrum et Sara Abbutt nupt fuit (*sic*) viij^o die²."
 1644. October. "John filius John Labrum bapt fuit xij die."
 1646. December. "Richard filius John Labrum mercer et Sarah uxor eius bapt fuit 13th die."
 1648-9. February. "Thomas filius John Labram mercer et Sarah uxor eius bapt fuit eode die" (12th).
 1652-3. January. "Sarah uxor John Labram sepult fuit 10th die."
 1653. December. "Parvulus John Labrum sepult fuit viij die."
 1653-4. February. "Parvulus John Labrum sepult fuit eode die" (21st).
 1699. July. "Mr John Labram 12 day." (*Burial.*)

80. *Obverse*.—**SAMVEL . POOEL**—The Paschal Lamb.

Reverse.—**IN . NORTHAMPTON.—S.P.**

Mint-mark, mullet.

(Boyne, 59; Williamson, 73.) **Fig. 54.** Farthing.

Samuel Poole served as a Town Bailiff in 1654-5, and as Churchwarden for All Saints parish in 1656-7. In a subsidy levied on the inhabitants of this town, 18 Charles I., Samuel Poole, of the Chequer Ward, paid 3s. 6d. He served his turns of "Watch and Ward" in 1656 (see note "Watch and Ward, p. 303). The Paschal Lamb may indicate that the token was issued from the "Lamb and Flag" Inn, then situated in Kingswell Street.

The issuer was admitted to the freedom of the Borough in 1655, as is shown by the following entry which occurs in the Roll of Freemen :—

"Samuel Poole sonne of Samuell Poole, by birthright, was admitted to be free of the Corporacion and sworne the eight and twentieth daie of September 1655 and paid." iiis. iiid.

The roll also records the admission of his son, Daniel, on October 27th, 1670.

The following entries occur in All Saints' parish register :—

- 1640-1. January. "Lawrence filius Samuclis Poole chandler et Sara uxor eius bapt fuit xvij^o die."
 1643. November. "Daniell filius Samuel Poole et Sara uxor eius bapt fuit eod die" (19th).
 1644-5. February. "Parvulus Samuell Poole sep. fuit xxiiij die."
 1646. November. "John filius Samuell Poole et Sarah uxor eius bapt fuit eodem die: vt primo."
 1646. November. "Sarah the wife of Samuell Poole sepult fuit 2 die."
 1667-8. February. "Mary filia Mr Samuel Poole chandler sepult fuit xth die."
 1672. September. "Mr Samuel Poole chandler sepult fuit eodem die" (6th).

81. *Obverse*.—**BIRD . STREETE . IN**—A pair of scales.

Reverse.—**NORTHAMPTON . 1651—I.D.S.**

Mint-mark, mullet.

(Williamson, 80.) Farthing.

82. *Obverse*.—**IN . BIRD STREETE**—A pair of scales.

Reverse.—**NORTHAMPTON 1651—I.D.S.**

Mint-mark, on obverse only, mullet.

(Boyne, 62.) **Fig. 55.** Farthing.

No street of this name exists in Northampton, nor is it shown on any known plan of the town. It has been suggested that it is a corruption of Bridge Street.

83. *Obverse*.—**AT . THE . GEORGE . IN**—St. George and the Dragon.

Reverse.—**NORTHAMPTON . 1650—I.M.S.**

Mint-mark, mullet.

(Boyne, 63 ; Williamson, 83.) **Fig. 56.** Farthing.

It is probable that the initials "I.M.S." which appear on this token stand for John and Margaret Smith, and that the following entries which occur in All Saints' parish register relate to the issuer and his family :—

1642. June. "William filius John Smith, inholder, bapt eodem die "
(26th).
1659-60. March. "Parulus (*sic*) John Smith innholder was buried
the 18th day."
1661. August. "John filius John Smith inholder bapt fuit quarto
die."
1670. September. "Mrs Margaret Smith de Hospetall sepult fuit
decimo die."

Mrs. Smith appears to have become reduced in circumstances, and died an inmate of either St. John's or St. Thomas' Hospital. The former was founded about 1138, for the maintenance of eight poor persons, with lodging and firing in the common hall, and an allowance of 1s. 11^d. weekly. The hospital dedicated to St. Thomas à Becket was founded about 1450, and endowed by the citizens of Northampton for the maintenance of twelve poor persons at an allowance of 1s. 11^d. weekly each, with clothing, firing, and washing. In 1654, Sir John Langham added six others to the number, and one other poor woman was added by the charity of one Richard Massingherd.

The George was an "auncient Inn" in the time of Queen Elizabeth (see note to No. 78), and is still a popular inn of the town.

Among the names of the freeholders who were assessed in respect of property in the subsidy of 18 Charles I., is that of "Mr. Wandly" who paid 4s. for the George.

It was reported to the Assembly on December 14th, 1644, that Thomas Holland, landlord of the George, was much intruding on the liberties of the town, insomuch as he was not a freeman, and was using the trade of a vintner, and keeping a tavern for the retailing of wines, without the Corporation's consent, whereby he had incurred diverse penalties. Thomas Holland, however, made submission to the Assembly, and he was permitted to continue his trade until March 25th, when he promised to pay £10 for the Town's use.

84. *Obverse*.—IOHN . TWIGDEN . IN ∴ —A glove.
Reverse.—NORTHAMPTON · 1666 ∴ — ∴ CREDE . SED . CAVE ∴
Mint-mark, mullet. Engraved in Boyne (1858).
(Boyne, 65 ; Williamson, 85.) **Fig. 57.** Halfpenny.

This token is remarkable for the inscription "Crede sed Cave," as if to say you may accept this token as genuine, but beware of others.

Specimens in silver exist, probably pattern pieces or proofs, of which one, formerly in the collections of Mr. H. Christie and Mr. H. S. Gill, is now in the writer's possession, and another is in the collection of silver tokens formed by the late Mr. H. B. Bowles, of Bristol. That in the Northampton Museum, mentioned by Williamson, appears to be silver-plated only.

In a subsidy levied upon the inhabitants, 18 Charles I., John Twigden, a resident in the South Ward, paid 4s.; and in that made in 13, and collected 16 Charles II., he was assessed 20s. for land.

The issuer of this token was the son of John Twigden, glover, who served as Mayor in 1632-3, and the former was admitted to the freedom of the Borough in 1633, as is shown by the following entry which occurs in the Roll of Freemen :—

"Johēs Twigden filius Johīs Twigden Modo Maior iure natali admiss
fuit Vicessimio die Aprilis 1633." iiis iiid.

He was a glover, but, nevertheless, he did not reside or have his business in the Glovery, which was located in the Drapery. In early times Northampton was noted for its gloves, and among the manuscripts preserved at Lincoln Cathedral is a lease, undated, but *circa* 1135-45, of ten acres at Marston, Lincolnshire, which states that the rent is to be paid in "Northampton gloves."

The great conduit, with the Conduit Hall above it, was built in the time of Edward IV. on the south side of the market square. The shops under the Conduit Hall were leased in 1650 for sixty-one years to Mr. John Twigden at a yearly rent of £4. This conduit was destroyed with the whole town in the fire of 1675.

The town Assembly kept a check upon street encroachments, and in 1657 it ordered "that the house of Mr. John Twigden (an alderman), now building, be made equal with Mrs. Bott's house, adjoining on the east; that the same come no further out towards the Churchyard, that

the new building do not overshadow Mrs. Bott's old house, and that it be built according to the old foundations every way." This would indicate that he resided either in Mercers' Row, or in St. George's Row, the churchyard referred to being that of All Saints'.

Extracts from the will of John Twigden will be given in the Appendix.

The following entries occur in All Saints' parish register :—

- 1641. August. "John filius John Twigden, glover et Prudence uxor sine [? eius] bapt fuit xxix^o die."
- 1646. May. "Sarah filia Mr John Twigden, glover, et Prudence uxor eius bapt fuit xvij die."
- 1649. May. "Beniamine filius John Twigden, glover, eius uxor bapt fuit xiiith die."
- 1650. September. "Sarah filia John Twigden sepult fuit 9th die."
- 1651-2. February. "Valentine filius Mr John Twigden, glover, et Prudence uxoreo (*sic*) eius bapt fuit 29th."
- 1654-5. March. "Theodor filius Mr John Twigden glover, et Prudence uxor eius bapt fuit xvth die."
- 1659. December. "Theoder (*sic*) son of Mr John Twigden buried the 23 day."
- 1681-2. February. "Mr John Twigden Alderman sepultus fuit xvijth die."

The register also records that John Twigden was a Churchwarden of All Saints' parish in 1652.

85. Obverse.—ANCHOR . WILLDINGE . IN—An anchor.

Reverse.—NORTHAMPTON · MERCER—A.A.W.

Mint-mark, mullet.

(Boyne, 66 ; Williamson, 86.) **Fig. 58.** Farthing.

86. A variety from a different obverse die, the anchor being larger, and the letters also. The reverse is from the same die as No. 85.

(Williamson, 87.) Farthing.

The issuer of these tokens was admitted to the freedom of the Borough in 1661, as is shown by the following entry which occurs in the Roll of Freemen :—

"Anchor Willding nup Apprenticius Danielis Symonds defunct admittit
fuit eodem duodecimo die Aprilis et solvit." . . . xiiii^s.

The anchor on these tokens was evidently intended for a rebus on the issuer's name. A copy of his will will be given in the Appendix.

The following entry occurs in All Saints' parish register :—

1667. September. "Anker Wilden mercer et trunkmaker sepult
fuit xix die."

Watch and Ward.

The Northampton Borough Records contain much interesting information concerning the keeping of watch and ward, one of the most burdensome duties formerly imposed upon town burgesses. Never, even in times of peace, could this duty be relaxed, for the times were such that every householder was expected to have his weapon for the defence of his own person and property, and to assist in preserving the general peace of the town. Each ward had its definitely appointed constable and "thirdboroughs," and each householder was bound to take his turn in keeping nightly watch and ward in the streets, unless formally excused by the Assembly. Elaborate regulations with regard to this duty were passed by the Assembly at various times, and amongst a variety of repressive orders of 1605 occurs one prohibiting any townsman from walking in the streets after nine o'clock in the evening, unless he is carrying a light; forbidding any handicraftsman, servant, or labourer playing by day or night at "dyce, cards, tables, bowles, or any other unlawful games; and [decreeing] that no innkeeper or aleshousekeeper allow suche games or have in his house dice, cards, etc., or keep open at prohibited times." Those serving on watch and ward were responsible for the due observance of such bye-laws, as well as the arresting of strangers, or the keeping of the King's peace in any fray that might arise. The Assembly resolved in June, 1648, that there was special need of an extraordinary watch in the town, and it was agreed that the sergeants should summon six out of each ward night by night, making thirty in

all. All summoned were to watch in their own persons in their own ward from sunset to sunrise, or to provide "verie able men in the rometh of them, and in default to pay 2s. 6d."

In the Borough archives is a manuscript list of those who served this duty from May 20th to the beginning of August, 1656, in two of the five wards of the town. The list for the Chequer ward is in double columns, and includes the names of several of the issuers of tokens described in the foregoing list. The following are the entries in which they are mentioned :—

" Fryday night the 23rd May.

John Labram.
Mr. Richard Rands.

Monday night the 26th May.

Mr. John Stevens.

Fryday 30th May.

Mr. Jo: Selby.

Tuesday night the 3rd June.

Mr. Ed: Cooper.
Mr. Tho: Cooper.

Sunday night 8th June.

Mr. Sam: Poole.

Satterday night 14th June.

John Steevens.

Satterday night the 21st June.

Jo: Labram.
Mr. Richard Rands.

Monday night the 23rd June 1656.

Mr. John Stevens.

Satterday night the 28th June 1656.

Mr. John Selby.

Tuesday night the 1st of July 1656.

Mr. Edward Cooper.

Wednesday night the second of
July.

Mr. Tho: Cooper

Sunday night the 6th July 1656.

Mr. Sam: Poole.

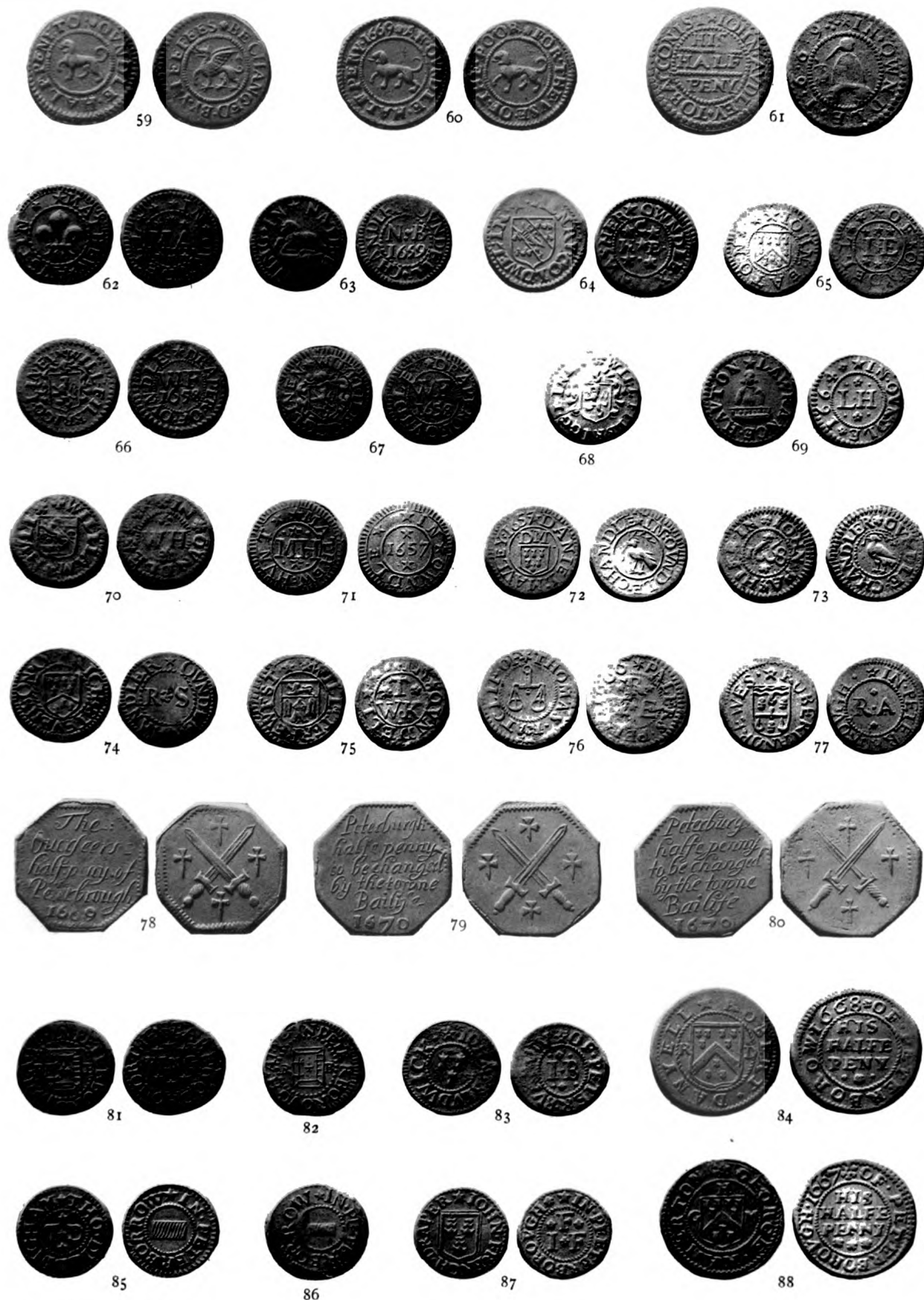
Sunday night 13th July.

Jo: Stevens."

OUNDLE.

The town of Oundle is situated thirty-seven miles north-east of Northampton, and thirteen miles south-west by west from Peterborough.

Oundle was amongst the earliest possessions of the abbey of Medeshamstede, afterwards called Burgh, and now Peterborough. At



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PL. III.

the time of the Norman Survey the Abbot of Burgh held 6 hides of land at "Undele." There was a mill of the yearly value of 20s., and 250 eels; 50 acres of meadow, and a wood 3 miles long and 2 broad, and the whole—including 25s., the profits of the market—was then valued at £11. The manor of Oundle continued in the possession of the Abbey of Peterborough till the dissolution of the religious houses in the reign of Henry VIII. In 1267 the Abbot obtained the privilege of a fair for fourteen days, beginning on the feast of the Ascension. In 1549 the manor, fair and market were granted to John, Earl of Bedford, who had farmed them under the Abbey. The manor remained in the possession of the Earls of Bedford for several generations.

87. *Obverse*.—OVNDLE · HALF · PENY · TO:—A talbot.

Reverse.—BE · CHANGED · BY · Y^r FEEFEES—A griffin.

Mint-mark, rose, or cinquefoil. Engraved in Bridges' *History*.

(Boyne, 67; Williamson, 88.) **Fig. 59.** Halfpenny.

88. *Obverse*.—AN · OVNDLE · HALF · PENY · 1669—A talbot.

Reverse.—FOR · THE · VSE · OF · THE · POOR—A talbot.

Mint-mark, rose, or cinquefoil. Engraved in Bridges' *History*.

(Boyne, 68; Williamson, 89.) **Fig. 60.** Halfpenny.

A book of Minutes and Accounts of the Feoffees and Overseers covering this period exists, but no mention is made of the ordering of dies, cost of same, cost of striking tokens, nor the cost of withdrawing them from circulation following the Royal proclamation of 1672.

The Talbot Inn was built in 1626 from materials obtained on the demolition of Fotheringhay Castle, and appears to have been used as a meeting place by the Feoffees and Overseers; hence the use of the talbot on their tokens. The following entry occurs in the Feoffees' accounts for 1672:—

"Paid at the Talbott on the account day 00:07:06."

This probably refers to refreshments consumed by the Feoffees.

VOL. VII.

X

89. Obverse.—**IOHN · AVDLEY · TOBACCONIST—HIS HALF PENY.**

Reverse.—**IN · OWNDLE · 1669.** ∴ —A still.

Mint-mark, mullet.

(Williamson, 90.) **Fig. 61.** Halfpenny.

The following entry occurs in the parish register :—

1670. "John Audly burd. Apr. 10."

90. Obverse.—**MATHEW · AVSTIN**—A fleur-de-lys.

Reverse.—**IN · OWNDELL · M.A.**—Three mullets above, and three below.

Mint-mark, mullet. Mullets for stops.

(Boyne, 69; Williamson, 91.) Farthing.

91. Obverse.—From the same die as No. 90.

Reverse.—As No. 90, but from a different die. A rose and two mullets above, and below the initials. **Fig. 62.** Farthing.

The following entries occur in the parish register :—

1662. "Jane daughter of Matthew Austin bapt. Aug: 7."

1664-5. "Katherine daughter of Mathew Austin bapt. Febr. 2."

1670-1. "Ursela daū: of Math: Austin bap: Jan. 5."

1672. "Mary daū of Mathew Austin bap Nov: 29."

1690. "Marie: dau: of Matthew Austin bu June 19."

92. Obverse.—**NATH · BROWING · IN**—A lamb couchant.

Reverse.—**OVNDELL · CHANDLER—N.B. 1659.**

Mint-mark, mullet. Engraved in *Bridges' History*.

(Williamson, 92.) **Fig. 63.** Farthing.

"Nathanell Browning" signed the parish register as Churchwarden in 1640.

The following entries occur in the parish register :—

1629. "Mathew y^e sonne of Nathaniel Browning bapt 18 of October."

1632. "Thomas the sonne of Nathaniell Browning bapt 2 of Decemb."

1636. "William sonne of Nathaniel Browning bapt 4 of Septemb."

1637. "Ann daughter of Nathaniel Browning bapt^d y^e same daie"

(Dec. 17.)

- 1639-40. "Nathaniel sonne of Nathaniel Browning bapt^d 16 of Januarie."
 1646. "Mary y^e daught^r of Nathaniel Browning borne 24, bapt 30 Apr:"
 1665. "Mary dau. of Nath: Browning bur^d Aug: 20."
 1668. "Nath: Browing bur^d Apr: 2."

It is doubtful whether the token was issued by Nathaniel Browning, Senior, to whom the foregoing entries refer, or Nathaniel Browning, Junior, concerning whom we find the following entries :—

- 1639-40. "Nathaniel sonne of Nathaniel Browning bapt^d 16 of Januarie."
 1664. "Francis son of Nathaniel Browning bapt. Nov: 23."
 1667. "Nath. son of Nat. Browing bap. Oct: 9."
 1670. "Nath: son of Nath: Bowing bur^d May: 25."
 1693. "Eleanor Browing widd, Sep. 21." (Burial.)

93. *Obverse*.—HENRY · COLDWEL · IN—The Haberdashers' Arms.

Reverse.—OWNDL · HABADASHER—H.E.C.

Mint-mark, mullet.

(Boyne, 71 ; Williamson, 93.) **Fig. 64.** Farthing.

The name of this issuer does not occur in the parish registers.

94. *Obverse*.—IOHN · EATON —The Grocers' Arms.

Reverse.—OF · OVNDELL—I · E.

Mint-mark, mullet. Mullets for stops. Engraved in Bridges' *History*.

(Boyne, 72 ; Williamson, 94.) **Fig. 65.** Farthing.

The following entries occur in the parish register :—

1652. "Dinis the daughter of John Eaton bor. Novemb: 10."
 1654. "Alte y^e daughter of John Eaton bor. 10 of March."
 1674-5. "John Eaton } both of y^e town mar^d Jan. 28."
 Mary Chalton }

95. *Obverse*.—WILL · FILBRIGG · LINEN—Arms, a lion rampant.

Reverse.—DRAPER · OF · OVNDLE—W.F. 1658.

Mint-mark, mullet, which is placed immediately above the helmet, which surmounts the shield.

(Boyne, 73 ; Williamson, 95.) **Fig. 66.** Farthing.

X 2

96. A variety from different dies. The mint-mark, mullet, is placed to the left of the helmet, which comes immediately under the "W."
Fig. 67. Farthing.

97. A variety has mint-mark rose, or cinquefoil on obverse. The reverse is from the same die as No. 96. **Fig. 68.** Farthing.

The arms represented on these tokens are those borne by Felbrigge of Felbrigge, co. Norfolk, of which family the issuer was a member. "Or, a lion rampant gules; crest, out of a ducal coronet gules, a plume of ostrich feathers erm." On the tokens, this crest is replaced by a helmet. The issuer was son of Thomas Filbrigg of Easton, Huntingdonshire, grandson of Sir John Filbrigg (or Felbrigg), who purchased the estate at Easton, and great-grandson of Sir Roger Felbrigg of Felbrigge, co. Norfolk.

The ancient family of De Felbrigg assumed their name from the town of Felbrigg, of which they were enfeoffed by the Bygod shortly after the Norman Conquest.

Roger Bygod, ancestor of the first Earls of Norfolk, obtained a grant of the lordship of Felbrigg on the Norman Conquest, and Ailward de Felbrigg appears to have held the manor under Bygod at the time of Domesday Survey.

Simon Felbrigg, son of Sir Roger Bygod, who assumed the name of Felbrigg, being fourth in descent from Simon le Bygod and Maud his wife, daughter of Richard, and sister of William de Felbrigg, was appointed Standard-Bearer to Richard II., in 1395, and created a Knight of the Garter in 1397.

The issuer of the token married Elizabeth Billing of Oundle, whose baptism is recorded in the parish register :—

1629-30. "Elizabeth y^e daught^r of William Billing the young^r bapt
 10 of January."

In the Hearth-tax of Charles II. "Mr. Filbriggs," the issuer of the token, was assessed for six, and John Filbrigg for three hearths. John Filbrigg, a brother, was married and buried at Oundle, as is shown by the following entries in the parish register :—

1653. "John Filbrigge of Easton
Martha Hodges of this towne } married Decemb 15."
1682. "John Filbridge bur^d June: 6."
1682. "Widow Filbridge bur^d July 3."

The issuer appears to have been a man of substance and of some considerable importance in the public life of Oundle. He served all the public offices, including those of Feoffee, Overseer, Constable and Churchwarden.

The following entries occur in the parish register :—

1687. "Mr W^m Fillbridge bur. Ap: 2."
1689. "Mrs Fillbridge buried Aug: 5."

On the floor of the choir, in the Parish Church, is a brass plate to the memory of William Filbrigg, inscribed thus :—

" HERE · LYETH · BVRIED · TE · BODY
OF · WILLIAM · FILBRIGGE · GENT,
SON · OF · THOMAS · FILBRIGGE
OF · EASTON · IN · COM · HVNT · GEN^T,
WHO · DEPARTED · THIS · LIFE · IN
THE · 54TH · YEARE · OF · HIS · AGE
MARCH · THE · 29TH · AN^o · DO^m · 1687."

The will of "Elizabeth Filbrigg of Oundle, co. Northampton, widow," dated July the 6th, 1689, and proved August the 28th in the same year, is preserved in the Prerogative Court, Canterbury. In it she specifically names her niece Elizabeth Billing, daughter of her brother Zachary Billing, "who now lives with me," and to whom she bequeaths £200, £10 for schooling, sundry articles of plate, one piece being a silver tankard that had Mr. Felbrigg's arms upon it, and also her household furniture. To her niece Mary Billing, "daughter of my brother Matthew Billing" £50. To the other children of her brother Matthew Billing, viz., Joseph, Elizabeth, Isaac, Sarah, John, and James, £10 each. To the children of her sister Mary Ladds, viz., Elizabeth, Mary, Anne, and Susanna, £20 each; and to her nephews William and Richard Ladds, £5 each. To the other children of her

brother Zachary Billing, viz., William, Mary, Robert, Matthew, and Sarah, £5 each. To the children of her brother William Billing, viz., William, Hannah, Griffin, Rebecca, Sarah, Deborah, Lidia, and Elizabeth, £5 each, etc.

98. *Obverse*.—**LAWRANCE . HAVTON**—A man making candles.
Reverse.—**IN . OVNDLE . 1664—L.H.**
 Mint-mark, mullet. Engraved in Bridges' *History*.
Fig. 69. Farthing.

Lawrence Houghton was assessed in the Hearth-tax of Charles II., for one hearth, and one forge.

The Feoffees' accounts show that "Lawrance Haughton" was a Constable in 1662, and an Overseer of the Poor in 1665. His name does not occur in the parish register.

99. *Obverse*.—**WILLIAM . HVLL**—The Haberdashers' Arms.
Reverse.—**IN . OVNDLE—W.H.**
 Mint-mark, cinquefoil. Cinquefoils for stops.
 (Boyne, 75; Williamson, 97.) **Fig. 70.** Farthing.

The Feoffees' accounts show that William Hull served the office of Constable in 1665.

The following entries occur in the parish register :—

1668. "Edmund son of Wm Hull bapt: Jun: 8."
 1669. "Mary dau: of Wm Hull: bapt: Nov: 15."
 1675. "Anne dau of Wm Hull burd Mar 8."
 1676. "William Hull burd Aug 15."
 1693. "Charles ye son of Mr Will^m Hull Nov 24." (*Burial.*)
 1693. "Widd. Hull Dec. 14." (*Burial.*)
 1698-9. "Katherine ye daughter of Mr W^m Hull Jan 31." (*Burial.*)

100. *Obverse*.—**MATHEW: HVNT—M.H.**
Reverse.—**IN . OWNDLE—1657.**
 Mint-mark, mullet. Engraved in Bridges' *History*.
 (Boyne, 76; Williamson, 98.) **Fig. 71.** Farthing.

Matthew Hunt was a Churchwarden in 1668.

The following entries occur in the parish register :—

- 1627. " Mathew y^e sonne of Edmund Hunt bapt 16 of Septemb."
- 1656. " Marie y^e daughter of Mathew Hunt bor. ii of Sept."
- 1656. " Mary daughter of Matthew Hunt, bur Sept. 23."
- 1658. " Edmund y^e sonne of Mathew Hunt bor 9 of July."
- 1660. " Matthew son of Matthew Hunt borne Apr: 11:"
- 1662. " Elisabeth daughter of Matthew Hunt bapt. Decemb: 11."
- 1664. " Anne daughter of Matthew Hunt bapt. April. 7."
- 1665. " Anne dau of Nath Hunt: burd. Aug: 12."
- 1665. " Gabreil son of Mathew Hunt: bapt: Dec: 21."
- 1667. " John son of Math: Hunt bap: Ap: 10."
- 1672. " Gabril son of Math: Hunt: bap: Aug: 26."
- 1673. " Gabril son of Mathew Hunt burd Aug: 5."

101. Obverse.—WILLIAM . IAMES . OF—Three cloves.

Reverse.—OVNDLE . CHANDLER—W.I. 1663.

No mint-mark.

(Boyne, 77 ; Williamson, 99.) Farthing.

William James served the office of Constable in 1664-5.

The following entry occurs in the parish register :—

- 1646. " Jued daught^r of William James borne 7. bapt. 10 of Septemb."

102. Obverse.—DANIEL . MAVLEY : 1657—Six cloves in a shield, **D.M.**

*Reverse.—IN : OVNDLE . CHANDLER—*A dove bearing an olive branch.

Mint-mark, mullet. Engraved in Bridges' *History*.

Fig. 72. Farthing.

The engraving of this token which appears in Bridges' *History* does not show the final numeral in the date ; this however is explained by the fact that the " 7 " is superimposed upon the mint-mark and only discernible on fine specimens. The same remark applies to the " R " in " Chandler," which is quite small, and placed on the rim of the token, immediately above the mint-mark.

The following entries occur in the parish register :—

- 1644. " John sonne of Daniel Mawley bapt 8 of Septemb^r."
- 1645. " Anne daught^r of Daniel Mawly bapt 9 of June."

1652. "John the sonn of Daniell Mawlye." (Baptism.)
 1653-4. "Adlin y^e daughter of Daniel Mawley, bor 8 of January."
 1653-4. "Robert son of Daniel Mawly, bur. Febr. 17."
 1654. "Dinis y^e daughter of Daniel Mawly, bor. 8 of Decemb."
 1656. "Edward y^e sonne of Daniel Mawly bor. 14 of Maie."
 1657. "Ann y^e daughter of Daniel Mawly bapt 28 of May."
 1658. "Elizabeth y^e daughter of Daniel Mawly bor. 4 of Maie."
 1659. "Dinis y^e daughter of Daniel Mawly bor. 6 of Aprill."
 1678. "Katherine wife of Daniel Mawly burd Dec. 26."

103. Obverse.—JOHN . PASHLER . IN—1668.

Reverse.—**OVNDLE . CHANDLER**—A dove bearing an olive branch
 Mint-mark, cinquefoil.

(Boyne, 79; Williamson, 101.) **Fig. 73.** Farthing.

The following entries occur in the parish register :

1673. "Susanna daū of John Pashler burd July 1."
 1673. "Jane daū of John Pashler burd July 7."
 1678. "John son of John Pashler burd July 8."
 1680. "Eliz. dau. of John Pashler bap. April 30."
 1681. "Eliz: dau: of John Pashler burd May: 5."
 1683. "Rachell dau: of John Pashler bapt July 20."

104. Obverse.—RICH . STEVENSON . OF—The Grocers' Arms.

Reverse.—**OVNDLE . CHANDLER—R.S.**

Mint-mark, mullet.

(Boyne, 80; Williamson, 102.) **Fig. 74.** Farthing.

The name, Richard Stevenson, does not occur in the parish register.

105. Obverse.—WILL^M TERREWFST—The Merchant-Tailors' Arms.

Reverse.—**IN . OVNDELL—W.K.T.**

Mint-mark, mullet. **Fig. 75.** Farthing.

In the Hearth-tax of Charles II., William Terrywist was assessed for five hearths.

The following entries occur in the parish register :—

- "Thes Set Downe According To Act of parliament August 24th
 1653 By mee William Terrewest Register."

- 1652-3. "Ann ye daughter of William Terrewest bor. Jan 7th."
 1653. "Katherine ye daughter of William Terrewest, Register, bor.
 10 of Novemb."
 1656. "Ruben: ye sonne of William Terrewest, Register, 26 of March."
 (Baptism.)
 1658-9. "Marie ye daughter of William Terrewest bor. 27 of January."
 1660. "William ye sonne of William Terrewest bor. 14 of Sept."
 1672. "Thomas son of Wm. Terewest bap. Dec: 20."
 1679. "Wm. Terrewest of ye Hospital burd April 8."

William Terrewest appears to have fallen on evil times and died an inmate of the Hospital or Almshouse.

This Hospital was founded and endowed, in 1556, by Sir William Laxton, son of John Laxton of Oundle, who was brought up as a grocer in London, of which city he was Lord Mayor in 1554; the foundation being for seven poor men, and it was under the supervision of the Grocers' Company.

PASTON (NEAR PETERBOROUGH).

A token said to read "Thomas Newman of Paston," was described in *Northamptonshire Notes and Queries*, 1886, and assigned to this place. This token, which was formerly in the collection of Mr. L. Clements, and is now in that of Mr. A. W. Barnes, undoubtedly reads "Anston" and not "Paston." It probably belongs to Winterbourne Anderston, Wiltshire, which place is locally pronounced "Anston." *Williamson* gives an imperfect, and otherwise incorrect description of another specimen of this token, under "Uncertain," No. 19.

PAULERSPURY.

The village of Paulerspury, or Parvelis-Pery, is situated three miles south-east by south of Towcester, and eleven from Northampton.

At the time of the Norman Survey, "Pirie" was held by William

Peverel, and consisted of three and a half hides and the fifth part of half a hide. There was a mill of the yearly value of 26s. 8d., with ten acres of meadow, and a wood six furlongs in length and four in breadth, and the whole was valued at £4. In the reign of Henry II. it passed from the Peverels to Robert de Paveli, and continued in his family till the latter end of the reign of Edward III. In the early part of the next reign, Sir John de St. John was lord of "Pirie," and it remained in the possession of his family for several generations. In the reign of Charles I., the lordship came into the possession of Anne, wife of the Sir Edward Hales who was concerned in the abortive attempt to rescue Charles I. during his imprisonment in the Isle of Wight. He raised on his own security the sum of £80,000 to defray the expense of this enterprise, but owing to its failure and his not being in a position to discharge the debt, he was obliged to end his days abroad.

The astronomer, linguist, and critic, Dr. Edward Bernard, was born here in 1638. His father, the Rev. Joseph Bernard, removed to Northampton, where the doctor received the rudiments of his education. It was here, also, that Dr. William Cary, "the patriarch of Indian missions, and the first Oriental professor of languages in India," was born in 1761.

106. *Obverse*.—THOMAS . RATCLIF . OF—A pair of scales.

Reverse.—PALERS . PERY . 1666—T.E.R.

Mint-mark, mullet of six points. **Fig. 76.** Farthing.

This token is incorrectly described in *Williamson*, and assigned to Potterspury.

The following entries occur in the parish registers :—

1625. "Thomas the sonn of Dextur Ratleife and Mary his wife was bapt.—January 29."

1663. "Sarah, daughter to Thomas Ratcliffe bapt. Decemb: ye 26th."

1664. "Mary, daughter of Thomas Ratcliffe bur. Jy: 15^o."

1665. "Sarah, daughter to Thomas Ratcliffe, Maij 18^o." (*Baptism.*)

1665. "Anne Ratcliffe bur. Novemb. 19."

1667. "Alice Ratcliffe bur. Maij 24^o."

1668. "William, son to Thomas Ratcliffe bap: Maij. 13^o."
 1671. "Hanna, daughter to Thomas Ratcliffe and Elizabeth his wife
 bap. Januar: 6."
 1676. "John, son of Tho. and Eliz. Ratcliffe bap. June 12."
 1676. "Elizabeth, daughter of Tho. Ratcliff, Nov: 30." (*Burial.*)
 1678. "Elizabeth, daughter to Thomas Ratcliffe bap. Mar: 15."
 1685. "Elizabeth Ratcliffe buried in woollen July ye 13th.
 1685. "Elizabeth ye d. of Thomas Ratcliffe junio. bapt. Dec. 10."
 1701-2. "Elizabeth Ratcliff bur. in . . . Mar. 9th."

The last entry relates to the widow of the issuer of the token and a copy of her will, will be given in the appendix.

PETERBOROUGH.

The city of Peterborough is situated at the north-eastern extremity of Northamptonshire, and forty-two miles from the county town. Peterborough was anciently called Medeshamstede from, it is said, a deep hole or gulf in the River Nene known as "Medes Well." Camden, quoting from Robert de Swaffham, says: "In the middle of this river there is a place like a whirlpool, so deep and cold that in summer no swimmer can go to the bottom." The *Saxon Chronicle* gives a similar account of this phenomenon. The most probable etymology, however, of the name Medeshamstede is *mede* or *mead*, a meadow, *ham*, a sheltered habitation, and *sted*, *stead*, or *stad*, a bank or place of rest. The foundation of the great Abbey here, which became one of the wealthiest and most powerful in England, was laid, according to the *Saxon Chronicle*, in 655 by Oswi, king of Northumbria, and Peada, the first Christian king of Mercia, and son of Penda, one of the last of the pagan kings of central England. In 870 the monastery was entirely destroyed by the Danes, and for nearly a century it lay in ruins, but was rebuilt in 966-71, under the auspices of King Eadgar, who reconstructed its establishment, restored its lands, ratified its former charters, elevated it into an abbey, changed its name to "Burgh," and among other favours conferred upon its Abbot the privilege of a mint at Stamford-(Baron). This grant was afterwards

confirmed by Æthelræd II., Cnut, and Edward the Confessor, and the privilege of a mint was also mentioned in a charter granted by Pope Eugenius to Abbot Martin in 1146.

It was here that Hereward the Saxon, who had joined the Danes under Sweyne, attacked the monastery in 1070, which he sacked and burnt, and having also burnt nearly the whole of the town, he retired to Ely laden with booty.

On the dissolution of the monasteries the abbey of Peterborough was advanced to the dignity of a bishopric.

107. *Obverse.*—*She: / Querfeers / half. peny. of / Peterbrough / 1662.*

In five lines.

Reverse.—No legend. Arms of the Cathedral of Peterborough.
Two swords in saltire between four crosses,
pattée-fitchée.

(Boyne, 82.) **Fig. 78.** Halfpenny, octagonal.

In relation to the issue of this token we find the following record in the Town Book of Minutes:—

“The City of At a meeting of ye Governours for ye towne
Peterburgh. land holden by adjournment the 11th day of
February 1668 IT IS ORDERED that the
Towne Baleifes of Peterburgh doe lay out of ye towne money in
his hands the sum of ten pounds for ye stampg and coynage of
the publique halfpenny with ye towne armes and the impressment
thereof to and for the putting out of poore and fatherlesse children
apprentices or other charitable uses and yt this meeting be
adjourned unto Tuesday the second day of March next insuing

Edward Gibbon

Tho : Hake

John Towse

Tho : Dickenson

Robert Dickenson

William Hetley.”

108. *Obverse.*—*Peterburgh / halfe penny / to be changed / by the
towne / Bailife / 1670.* In six lines.

Reverse.—No legend. Arms of the Cathedral of Peterborough.
The vertical stroke of “B” in “Bailife” comes im-
mediately above the “1” in the date.

(Williamson, 106.) **Fig. 79.** Halfpenny, octagonal.

109. *Obverse*.—As No. 108, but from a different die. The vertical stroke of "B" comes a little to the left of the "I."

Reverse.—From the same die as No. 108.
Halfpenny, octagonal.

110. *Obverse*.—As No. 108, but reading *Peterburg*.

Reverse.—As No. 108, but from a slightly different die.
(Williamson, 107.) **Fig. 80.** Halfpenny, octagonal.

It is recorded in the Town Book of Minutes that, "At a Meeting of ye Gouvners of ye Towne Land and Stock for ye said City holden by adjournment on Wednesday ye 4th of May in ye year of oe Lord 1670," it was resolved that :

"Whereas sevrle stampes of farthings and halfepence are putt forth by ye sevrle inhabitants of this Towne to their owne private advantage, the Gouvners that [had?] thought fitt to take yt into their consideration ye profit yt might accrue towards ye Releife of ye poore of ye Citty in case some pte of ye towne stock was layd out in stampes for halfepence, and thereupon they gave and ordered that no farthings or $\frac{1}{2}$ -pence of any person or persons shall pass current longer than till Whitsuntide next. And yt in ye Interim care be taken yt a stampe for halfepence with the armes of ye City be sent out and they and none other to be allowed ; yt ye Towne Bayly for ye time being shall be chardgeable wth ye change of such $\frac{1}{2}$ -pence wh shall be allowed him in his account."

Six days later we find, in the same Book of Minutes, the following record :—

"The City of Peterburgh. At a Meeting of ye Gouvernors of ye Towne land and stock for ye sd City holden by adjournment on Tuesday ye 10th of May 1670
Then present

Humfry Orme Esq
Robert Mackworth Esq
Tho : Hake Esq
Robert Dickenson Gent
Edward Gibbon Gent

John Towse Gent
Wm Hetley Gent

IT IS ORDERED that Mr. Mortimore doe forthwth pay into ye hands of Mr Gibbon ye sum of Twenty pounds who is

desired wth all speed to send ye same to London to be layd out in a stamp of Towne halfpence wh is to have ye Inscription (Peterburgh halfpence to be changed by ye Towne Bayliffe) And whereas there are already Towne $\frac{1}{2}$ -pence put out be the Overseers of ye Poor it is agreed by ye Gouvernors that they likewise shall be changed by ye Towne Bayliffe."

Some of the above tokens, although dated 1670, were struck in 1672, as is shown by the following extract from the Town Book :—

"The City of Peterburgh. At a Meeting of the Gouvernours for the Stock and land of the Citty of Peterburgh January the 12th 1672

IT IS ALSO THEREON ORDERED that Twenty pounds be laid out for more halfpennyes to be sent for the use of the inhabbittants of the said Citty to pay John Lovin wt is due to him and for other necessary occasions of the said Citty as the Gouvernours shall think fit

Robert Mackworth
Tho : Hake
Robert Carryer
Edward Gibbon
William Hetley
John Towse
Mathew Knowles."

The order issued in May, 1670, for the suppression of private tokens appears to have been effective, as 1669 is the latest date upon any token in the following list.

III. Obverse.—ROBERT ANDREWES.—The Bakers' Arms.

Reverse.—**IN . PETERBOROVGH.—R.A.**

Mint-mark, mullet. Farthing.

The following entries occur in St. John's parish registers :—

1621. October. "Robert Andrew and Mary Crosse mr: eodem die"
(18th).
1622. September. "Thomas s: of Robert Andrew cstned 1^o day."
1630. March. "Ambrose s. of Robert Andrewes bap: the 24th day."

1638. September. "Elizabeth d of Robert Andrewes bapt eod: die"
(16th).
1659. October. "Alexander sone of Robert Andrew buried ye 25th."
- 1660-1. "Robert sonne of Robert Andrew buried the same day"
(March 10).
1661. November. "Robert sonne of Robert Andrew baptized the
25 day."
- 1662-3. January. "Sarah daughter of Robert Andrew buried the
same day" (2nd).
1664. June. "Lucie daughter of Robert Andrew baptized the same
day" (12th).
1664. August. "Lucie daughter of Robert Andrew buried the same
day" (11th).
1665. June. "Luce daughter of Robert Andrew baptized the 7 day."
1665. December. "Robert sonne of Robert Andrew buried the
1. day."
- 1667-8. February. "Margaret dr of Robert Andrew bapt ye 12th
day."
1669. May. "Robert Andrew buryed ye 2^d day."
- 1671-2. January. "Robert s. of Robert Andrew bapt. 28 day."
- 1671-2. February. "Robert s: of Robert Andrew bur: 4 day."
1677. July. "Robert s of Robert Andrew bapt 3 day."
1680. November 14th. "Alexander Andrews." (*Burial.*)
1683. May 10th. "Sarah Andrews." (*Burial.*)
1684. September 1st. "Robert ye s of Rob: Andrews. vide Burials."
1685. August 20th. "Eliz: Andrews." (*Burial.*)

And in a separate register of such as were buried in woollen only,
appears the following duplicate entry of the burial of the last
named Robert :—

1684. September 3rd. "Rob: ye s of Robert Andrews." (*Burial.*)

These entries relate to two generations; but it is impossible to
separate them, or to decide which Robert Andrews (or Andrewes)
issued the token.

112. Obverse.—IN . PETERBOROVGH AT Y^E —A Bible. R.-B.

Reverse.—FEARE . GOD . HONOR . THE—KING.

Mint-mark, on the obverse only, mullet of six points.

The Bible has a cross-crosslet in the centre and
at each corner of the cover. **Fig. 81.** Farthing.

113. *Obverse.*—IN . PETERBOROVGH . AT . Y^E :—A Bible. R.—B.

Reverse.—From the same die as No. 112.

No mint-mark. The crosses on the Bible are less ornate than on No. 112. **Fig. 82.** Farthing.

This issuer was a bookseller. A Bible was generally used by the booksellers as a sign, and it became the symbol of their trade.

William Sheares, bookseller, at The Bible in Bedford Street, Covent Garden, London, in 1661, as a frontispiece to some of his publications, prefixed an engraving of his sign—a Bible—surrounded by the motto, "Feare God. Honour the King," as on the above tokens.

The following entries occur in St. John's parish register, and probably relate to the issuer of Nos. 112 and 113.

1624. June. "Robert Benison and Marye Bartholomew mr: eodem die" (27th).

1628. November. "Joyce d: of Robert Benison bap: the 9th day."

1638. October. "Robert Benison and Suzan Burnham married eod. die" (28th).

114. *Obverse.*—IOHN . BLVDWICK .—Three cloves.

Reverse.—OF . PETER . BVRROW—I.B.

Mint-mark, mullet. **Fig. 83.** Farthing.

The following entries occur in St. John's parish registers :—

1658-9. March 1st. "John Bludwick marryed Elizabeth King ye same day."

1659. August. "W^m sone of John Bludwick buried the 18th."

1686. November 4. "Richard y^e s of John Bloodwick." (*Burial.*)

1687 8. February 15th. "Joseph ye s. of John Bludwick." (*Burial.*)

1690. November 9th. "John Bludwick." (*Burial.*)

115. *Obverse.*—RICHARD . BVRTON . OF—The Mercers' Arms.

Reverse.—PETERBOROVGH . 1668.—HIS HALFE PENY.

Mint-mark ?

(Williamson, 111.)

The following entries occur in St. John's parish registers :—

1659. July. ". . . . Burton buried ye 10th."
 1678-9. February 27th. "Mr Richard Burton." (*Burial.*)
 1682. September 27th. "Richard Burton." (*Burial.*)

116. Obverse.—**JOHN . BVTLER . 1664**—The Grocers' Arms.

Reverse.—**IN . PETERBOROVGH—I.E.B.**

Mint-mark, mullet. Mullets for stops. Farthing.

The following entries occur in St. John's parish registers:—

1629. August. "John s. of John Butler bap: eod: die" (2nd).
 1658-9. "Susan daughter of John Butler buried ye same day"
 (March 30).
 1661-2. January. ". . . . sone of John Butler buried the 8 day."
 1662-3. January. "John sonne of John Butler buried the same day"
 (2nd).
 1664. "John sonne of John Butler buried the 24 day of July."
 1665. April. "John sonne of John Butler buried 26 day."
 1665-6. February. "Willyam sonne of John Butler baptized the
 4 day."
 1668. May. "Elizabeth d: of John Buttler was baptized ye 17th day."
 1672. August. "John s of John Butler bapt. 18 day."
 1675. October. "Margery d. of John Butler bapt. 26 day."
 1680-1. February 8th. "Jn. ye s. of Jn. Butler." (*Burial.*)
 1681. September 25th. "Elizabeth ye d. of Jn. Butler." (*Burial.*)
 1682. May 30th. "John ye s. of Jn. Buttler." (*Burial.*)
 1685. December 5th. "Robert Buttler." (*Burial.*)
 1690. April 10th. "Anne Butler." (*Burial.*)
 1690. November 9th. "John Butler." (*Burial.*)

117. Obverse.—**ROBART : CARYER**—A pelican feeding its young.

Reverse.—**OF : PEETERBROVGH—R.C.**

Mint-mark, mullet. Farthing.

118. Obverse.—**ROBERT · CARYER**—A pelican feeding its young.

Reverse.—From the same die as No. 117.

Mint-marks, obverse, rose ; reverse, mullet. Farthing.

The following entries occur in St. John's parish registers:—

1622. February. "Elizabeth d: of Robert Carier cstned x day."
 1625. October. "Thomas s: of Robert Caryer cstned ye 4 day."

VOL. VII.

Y

1630. June. "Anne d. of Robert Carier bap. the 22nd day."
 1632. October. "Anne d. of Robert Carrier bu: the 2nd day."
 1632-3. January. "Robert s. of Carrier Robert bap. —."
 1635. May. "Mary d. of Robert Carier bap. 12 day."
 1637. December. "John s. of Robert Carier bapt. eodem die" (20th).
 1640. March. "Richard s. of Robert Carrier bap. 131 day."
 1683. December 18th. "Eliz: Carrier." (*Burial.*)



FARTHING TOKEN OF JOHN CAWTHORNE OF PETERBOROUGH.

119. Obverse.—**JOHN . CAWTHORNE**—The Bakers' Arms.

Reverse.—**IN . PETERBOROVGH—I.C.**

Mint-mark, mullet.

(Williamson, 115.) Farthing.

In a subsidy, mutilated, but made late in the reign of James I., John Cawthorne, father of the issuer, was assessed £3 for goods.

The following entries occur in St. John's parish registers :—

1628. December. "John s: of John Crawthorne bap: the 18th day."
 1661. September. "Willyam sonne of John Crawthorne baptized the 10 day."
 1661. September. "Willyam sonne of John Crawthorne buried the 13 day."

120. Obverse.—**ROBERT . DANYELL**—The Grocers' Arms. **R.-D.**

Reverse.—**OF . PETERBOROW . 1668—HIS . HALFE . PENY.**

Mint-marks, obverse, mullet ; reverse, cinquefoil.

(Williamson, 116.) **Fig. 84.** Halfpenny.

The following entries occur in St. John's parish registers :—

1666. July. "Anne Daniel widdow buried there [the pesthouse] the 19 day."

She was the mother of the issuer of the token, and died of the plague at the pest-house. At the end of 1666, Simon Gunton, the

historian of Peterborough, who was then Vicar, records in the parish register that there were 500 burials during that year, besides seven or eight at Dogsthorpe not registered. The greater part of the deceased died of the plague. Many of these burials are recorded as "at ye pest-house," "in a garden," "in ye fields," etc.

- 1667-8. January. "Robert Daniel and Mary Browne married y^e same day" (2nd).
 1668. November. "Robert y^e son of Mr. Robert Daniel was baptized y^e 10th day."
 1670-1. March. "Elizabeth d. of Robert Daniel bapt. 11th day."
 1671-2. February. "Elizabeth d of Robert Daniel bur: 26 day."
 1676. June. "Elizabeth d. of Robert Daniel bapt. 19 day."
 1676. September. "Elizabeth d of Robert Daniel bur: 12 day."
 1677-8. January. "Martha d of Robt Daniel bapt 9 day."
 1679. May. "John s. of Robert Daniel bapt 15 day."
 1679. August 1st. "John s. of Robert Daniel." (*Burial.*)
 1680. September 19th. "Rob: ye s. of Robert Daniell." (*Burial.*)
 1681. April. "John y^e s. of Rob. Daniell." (*Baptism.*)
 1682. November. "Elizabeth y^e d. of Robert Daniell." (*Baptism.*)
 1686. May 7th. "Eliz: ye d. of Robt. Daniel." (*Burial.*)

121. Obverse.—THO. DILLINGHAM—T.D.

Reverse.—IN. PETERBORROW—A roll of tobacco.

Mint-mark, mullet.

(Williamson, 118.) **Fig. 85.** Farthing.

122. Obverse.—From the same die as No. 121.

Reverse.—As No. 121, but from a different die, the roll of tobacco being smaller. **Fig. 86.** Farthing.

The name, Thomas Dillingham, does not occur in the parish registers.

Pendent rolls, representing coils of tobacco, were formerly used as tobacconists' signs, and still constitute the exterior decoration of a few old-fashioned shops.

123. Obverse.—IOHN. FRENCH. DRAPER—The Drapers' Arms.

Reverse.—IN. PEETERBOROVGH—I.F.F.

Mint-mark, mullet.

(Boyne, 90; Williamson, 119.) **Fig. 87.** Farthing.

Y 2

The following entries occur in St. John's parish registers :—

1631. May. "John s. of John French bap: 3 day."
 1662-3. January. "John French and Francis Wyldbore married the
 11 day."
 1663. November. "Frances daughter of John French baptized the
 20 day."
 1665. September. "George sonne of John French baptized the 12 day."

124. *Obverse*.—GEORGE . HAMERTON—The Grocers' Arms. **G.M.H.**
Reverse.—OF . PETERBOROVGH . 1667 . —HIS . HALFE . PENNY.
 Mint-mark, setfoil. **Fig. 88.** Halfpenny.
 125. *Obverse*.—GEORGE . HAMERTON—The Grocers' Arms.
Reverse.—IN . PETERBOROW.—G.M.H.
 Mint-mark, mullet. Farthing.

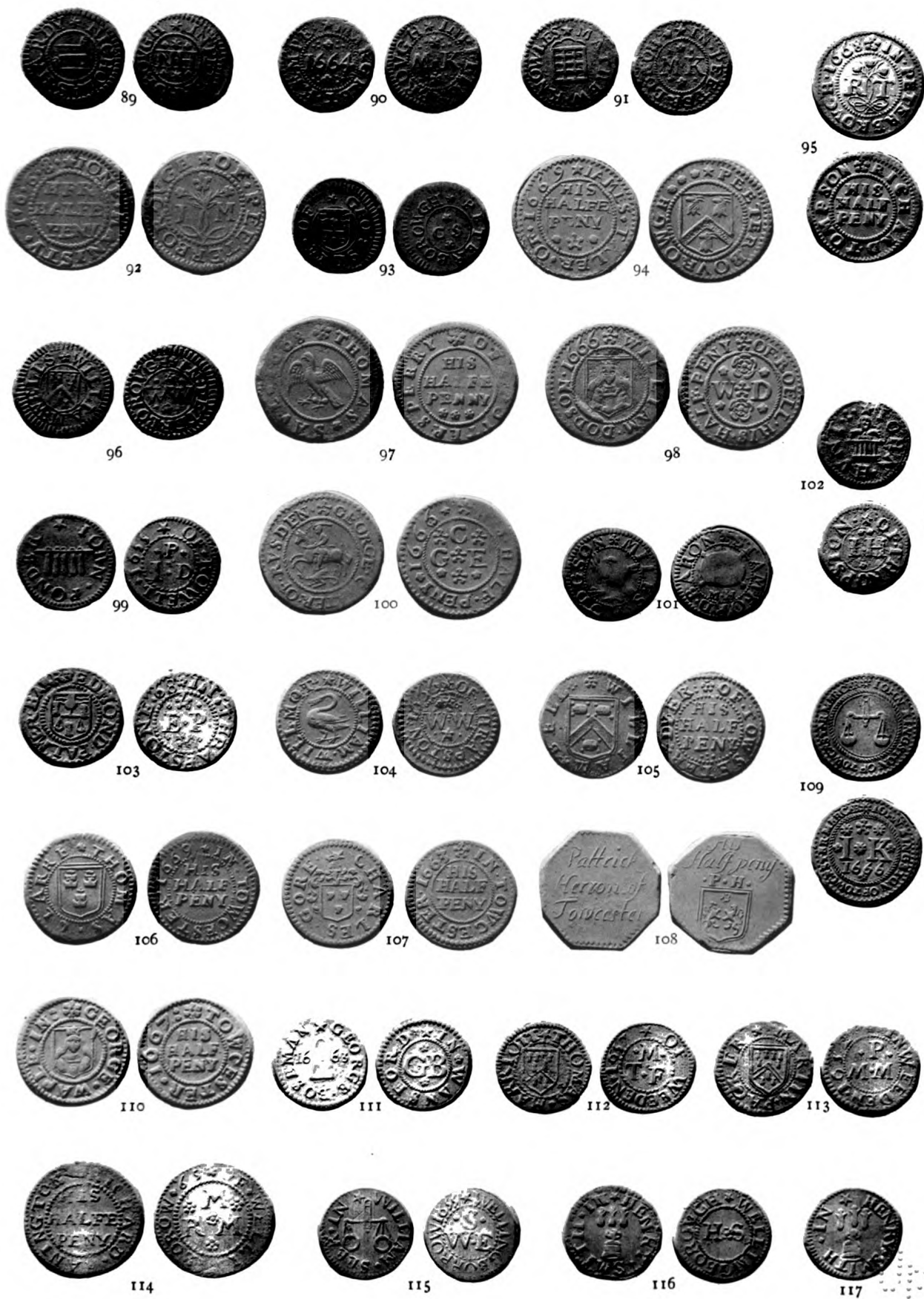
The name, George Hamerton, does not occur in the parish registers.

126. *Obverse*.—NICHOLAS . HARDY—Two pipes and a roll of tobacco.
Reverse.—IN . PETERBOROVGH—N.H.
 Mint-mark, mullet of six points.
 (Williamson, 124.) **Fig. 89.** Farthing.

The following entries occur in St. John's parish registers :—

1665. June. "Nicholas Hardy and Elizabeth Collins married the 26
 day."
 1667-8. January. "Elizab: dr. of Nicholas Hardy buried ye 13th day."
 1667-8. March. "Constance dr. of Nicholas Hardy bapt 10th day."
 1667-8. March. "Constance dr. of Nicholas Hardy buried 13th day."
 1669. August. "Elizabeth d. of Nicholas Hardy bapt 22 day."
 1671-2. January. "Nicholas s. of Nicholas Hardy bapt. 8 day."
 1671-2. January. "Elizabeth wife of Nicholas Hardy bur: 26 day."
 1671-2. February. "Nicholas s: of Nicholas Hardy bur: 3 day."
 1673. April. "Elizabeth dr. of Nicholas Hardy bur. 4 day."
 1680-1. March 7th. "Nicholas Hardy." (*Burial*.)

127. *Obverse*.—ALCE . HARVEY . AT THE—A Bible.
Reverse.—IN . PETERBROVGH—1659.
 Mint-mark, mullet.
 (Williamson, 125.)



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Pl. IV.



The issuer probably was a bookseller ; her name does not, however, occur in the parish registers.

128. Obverse.—MARGRET . KEMPE .—1664.

Reverse.—IN . PEETERBROVGH .—M.K. (a small pierced rose above and below).

Mint-mark, mullet.

(Williamson, 127.) Farthing.

129. Obverse.—From the same die as No. 128.

*Reverse.—*As No. 128, but from a different die ; the initials are different in form, the “ M ” being similar to an inverted “ W,” and the ornament above and below is an heraldic cinquefoil. **Fig. 90.** Farthing.

The following entry occurs in St. John’s parish register :—

1684. December. “ Margrett Kemp 29 day.” (*Burial.*)

130. Obverse.—MATHEW . KNOWLES—A portcullis.

Reverse.—IN . PEETERBOROW—M.K.

Mint-mark, mullet.

(Williamson, 129.) **Fig. 91.** Farthing.

Matthew Knowles was Churchwarden in 1668.

The following entries occur in St. John’s parish registers :—

1659. September. “ Mary daughter of Mathew Knowles buried the 9th.”

1660. November. “ Elizabeth wife of Matthew Knowles buried the 23 day.”

“ David sonne of the said Matthew baptized the same day.”

1661. June. “ David sonne of Matthew Knowles buried the 18th day.”

1665. December. “ Robert sonne of Matthew Knowles baptized the same day ” (13th.)

1666. June. “ Matthew Knowles buried there [the pesthouse¹] the same day ” (19th.)

1666. June. “ Prudence Knowles buried there [the pesthouse¹] the same day ” (29th.)

1668–9. January. “ Anne d: of Mathew Knowles bapt y^e 6 day.”

¹ See p. 322.

1670. September. "Joseph s. of Mr Mathew Knowles bapt. 6 day."
 1672. August. "Sarah d. of Mathew Knowles bapt 13 day."
 1672. November. "Sarah d. of Mathew Knowles bur: 8 day."
 1672-3. January. "Anne wife of Mathew Knoweles bur: 17 day."
 1680-1. March 18. "Mr Matthew Knowles." (*Burial.*)

131. *Obverse.*—**IONE . MANISTY . 1668**—**HER . HALFE . PENY.**
Reverse.—**OF . PEETERBOROVGH.**—A floreated knot between -I-M.
 Mint-mark, mullet.
 (Boyne, 96; Williamson, 130.) **Fig. 92.** Halfpenny.

"Widow Manesty" was assessed for 4 hearths in the tax of Charles II., she being then a resident of the Bridge Street ward.

The following entry occurs in St. John's parish register:—

1673. November. "Mrs. Joane Manesty, wid: bur: 11 day."

The issuer made her will, in which she designates herself as "Joan Manestie of Peterborough, co. Northampton, widow," September 29th, 1673, and it was proved in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury, on June the 4th, 1674. She gave to her son, Richard Manesty, "one broad piece of gold commonly called a twenty shilling piece," to be paid unto him one month after her decease. "All the rest of my household stuff, money, credits, and chattels," she devised "to my two daughters, Elizabeth and Anne Manesty," who were constituted sole and joint executrixes.



FARTHING OF FRANCIS MORTIMER OF PETERBOROUGH.

132. *Obverse.*—**FRANCIS . MORTIMER**—A stocking leg between two crosses.
Reverse.—**IN . PETERBOROW**—*J. M.*
 Mint-mark, cross.
 (Williamson, 131.) Farthing.
133. *Obverse.*—**FRACI[S] . MORTIMER**—A stocking leg, as before.
Reverse.—From the same die as No. 132. Farthing.

A stockinged leg was used by hosiers as a sign.

The following entries occur in St. John's parish registers :—

- 1635. November. "Mary d. of Francis Mortimer bap: eod. die" (8th).
- 1635. November. "Mary Mortimore aforesayde bu: eod die" (19th).
- 1673. April. "Mr. Francis Mortimore was bur: 14 day."

134. Obverse.—THOMAS . SECHELL—The Grocers' Arms.

Reverse.—IN . PEETERBVRROW—T.A.S.

Mint-mark, rose. Farthing.

The following entries occur in St. John's parish register :—

- 1662-3. March. "Joseph sonne of Thomas Setchell baptized the 1 day."
- 1663. November. "Joseph sonne of Thomas Setchell buried the 30 day."
- 1664. July. "Martha daughter of Thomas Setchell baptized the 17 day."
- 1664. December. "Richard sonne of Thomas Setchell buried the 2 day."
- 1670. April. "Thomas Seachill bur: 14th. day."

135. Obverse.—THOMAS . SHINN . 1667.—The Grocers' Arms.

Reverse.—OF . PETERBOROVGH :—HIS HALFE PENNY.

Mint-mark, setfoil. Halfpenny.

136. Obverse.—THO : SHINNE . OF—The Grocers' Arms.

Reverse.—PETER · BOROVGH—T.S.

Mint-mark, mullet; the mint-mark on the reverse being placed immediately above the initials.

(Boyne, 99; Williamson, 135.) Farthing.

137. Obverse.—From the same die as No. 136.

Reverse.—As No. 136, but from a different die; the initials being larger, the mint-mark placed considerably to the left, and a mullet divides the name of the city.

The following entries occur in St. John's parish registers :—

- 1638. September. "Thomas s. of Thomas Shinn bapt. 16 day."
- 1663. November. "Thomas sonne of Thomas Shinne baptized the 5 day."

- 1663-4. February. "Mr. Thomas Shinne the elder buried the 5 day."
 1666. June. "Nicholas sonne of Thomas Shinne baptized the same day" (24th).
 1666. July. "Nicholas sonne of Thomas Shin buried the same day" (5th).
 1668-9. February. "Mary d. of Thomas Shinne bapt. 7 day."

138. Obverse.—GEO : SLYE . OF—The Bakers' Arms.

Reverse.—PETERBOROWGH—G.S.

Mint-mark, mullet.

(Boyne, 100; Williamson, 136.) **Fig. 93.** Farthing.

The name, George Slye, does not occur in St. John's parish registers.

139. Obverse.—IAMES . TALER . OF . 1669.—HIS HALFE PENY

*Reverse.—PEETERBOVROWGH—*The Cordwainers' Arms.

Mint-mark, mullet. Engraved in *Bridges' History*.

(Boyne, 101; Williamson, 137.) **Fig. 94.** Halfpenny.

The issuer of this token must have exercised great ingenuity in devising an original mode of spelling Peterborough, for it is an excellent specimen of the gross blunders which are so frequently found on the tokens of this period.

The arms of the Cordwainers' Company are, "azure, a chevron or, between three goats' heads, erased argent"; and when used as a tavern sign they were generally designated "The Shoemakers' Arms," but to the commonalty, reading by the eye and not from an heraldic point of view, they became the "Three Goats' Heads."

The following entries occur in St. John's parish registers:—

1635. November. "Amie d. of James Taylor bap: 7 day."
 1637-8. March. "Dorothy d. of James Taylor bapt. 7 day."
 1640. August. "Elizabeth d. of James Tayler bap. 9 day."
 1642. April. "Sarah d. of James Tayler bap. 29 day."
 1679-80. February. "Elizabeth w : of James Taylor."
 1695. March 31st. "Mr. James Taylor the elder." (*Burial.*)

140. Obverse.—RICHARD . TOMPSON—HIS HALF PENY.

Reverse.—IN . PETERBROVGH . 1668.—A floreated knot between R-T.

Mint-mark, cinquefoil. Engraved in Bridges' *History*.
(Boyne, 102 ; Williamson, 138.) **Fig. 95.** Halfpenny.

Richard Thompson was a Churchwarden in 1670.

The following entries occur in St. John's parish registers :—

1658–9. February. "Richard Tompson married Frances y^e daughter of Mr Humphrey Austin ye 14th day."

1662. June. "Richard Tomson and Mary Shinne married the 8 day."

1664. July. "Dorothy daughter of Richard Tomson baptized the 19 day."

1664. September. "Dorothy daughter of Richard Tomson buried the 16 day."

1665. July 25th. "Thomas sonne of Richard Tomson baptized the same day."

1666. July. "Elizabeth Tomson buried at the Pesthouse¹ the 19 day."

1666. August. "Humphrey Tomson buried in a garden¹ the same day" (2nd).

1668–9. January. "Charles son of Richard Tomson bapt y^e same day (1st).

1671. October. "Mary d. of Richard Tompson bapt 5 day."

1671–2. January. "Mary d. of Richard Tompson bur: 8 day."

1676. December. "Mary w: of Richard Tompson bur: 15 day."

1683. June 3rd. "Humfrey ye s. of Mr. Rich. Tomson." (*Burial.*)

141. Obverse.—WILLIAM : WELLS—The Grocers' Arms.

Reverse.—IN . PETERBOROVGH—W.W.

Mint-mark, mullet.

(Boyne, 103 ; Williamson, 139.) Farthing.

142. Obverse.—From the same die as No. 141.

*Reverse.—*As No. 141, but from a different die ; a colon after "IN," and the initials are larger. **Fig. 96.** Farthing.

The following entries occur in St. John's parish register :—

1668. December. "William son of William Welles bapt: y^e 10th day."

1671. May. "Jane d. of Mr. William Welles bapt 28 day."

¹ See p. 323.

1674. May. "John s. of W^m. Welles bapt. 24 day."
 1676. June. "Hannah d. of Mr Willm. Welles bapt 27 day."
 1678-9. January. "Joseph and Mary, s. and d. of Mr. W^m. Welles
 bapt 31 day."
 1679. June 2nd. "Joseph and Mary s: and d: of W^m. Welles." (*Burial.*)
 1679. September 29th. "Elizabeth d. of W^m. Welles." (*Burial.*)
 1682. May 20th. "Allice Welles." (*Burial.*)

In the foregoing list the name, Peterborough, is spelt in thirteen different ways. To these varieties may be added yet one more, namely, that given by Dean Swift, who, on the only occasion on which he dined with the Royal Chaplains at Windsor, entered in his journal under date October 6, 1711—"We ate on pewter; every chaplain, when he is made a dean, gives a piece, and they have got a little, some of it very old. One who was made Dean of Peterborough (a small deanery) said he would give no plate; he was only Dean of *Pewter-borrow*."

A PARCEL OF STYCAS FROM THE YORK
FIND, 1842.

BY NATHAN HEYWOOD.



TONYHURST COLLEGE, Lancashire, contains within its stately walls many objects of antiquarian interest, including a valuable library rich in black-letter books and ancient manuscripts.

Among the former are over five hundred volumes, many of them being early specimens of printing, including *The Golden Legend* printed by Caxton in 1483, and *The Book of Eneydos* printed also by Caxton in 1490, and others by Wynkeyn de Worde. One of the most interesting volumes is a religious work printed in 1558, which is said to have been the identical book which Queen Mary of Scots held in her hand as she mounted the scaffold, and which she caused to be delivered to her Confessor.

The museum contains many Stuart pictures, articles of vertu, a magnificent collection of Papal medals, and numerous articles of historical interest, including the stycas from the great find at York, which are the subject of this paper.

There are in this small collection 376 coins, namely, of Eardwulf, 7; Hoauth, 1; Ælfwald II., 1; Eanred, 47; Æthelred II., 229; Redwulf, 9; Osbercht, 13; Wigmund, 49; Wulfhere, 6; indecipherable, 13, and one composed of two reverses bearing the names of the two moneyers: **FORDRED** and **BRODER**. On the other hand a regal coin reads **EDILRED** on either side, and an ecclesiastical example **VIGMVND AREP** on either side.

The following is a list of the moneyer's names :—

EARDWULF	...	BARDVVLF, EARDVVLF, RUIE, EDILVLD, EXIIVD HERRED, VVFRED.
HOAUTH	...	HVAETRD.
ÆLFWALD II.	...	EADVINI.
EANRED	ALDATES, BRODR, DAEGBERCT, EADVINI, EARDVVLF, FORDRED, GADVTE, HERRED, MONNE, ODILO, PINTRED, VVLFRED.
ÆTHELRED II....		ALGHERE, BARDVVLF, BROÐER, COENRED, EADVINI, EANVVALD, EANRED, EARDVVLF, FORDRED, LEOFDEGN, MONNE, VENDELBERHT, PINTRED, VVLFRED.
REDWULF	...	COENED, CVÐBERHT, EANRED, HERRED, HVAETNOÐ, MONNE, VENDELBERHT, VVLFRED.
OSBERCT	...	BANVLF, EADVINI, EÐELHELM, MONNE.
WIGMUND	...	COENRED, EÐELHELM, EÐILVEARD, HVNLAF.
WULFHERE	...	VVLFRED.

As an addition to the following table of the principal finds of stycas in Northumbria, it may be useful to mention in passing that a silver styca of Ecgberht was found at Alton, Lincolnshire, in 1849, and unimportant stycas have been discovered at Ribchester, Grange over Sands, and Castlehead.¹

In Hume's *Ancient Meols* 1863 three stycas are described by Mr. H. Ecroyd Smith which were found near Dove Point, Cheshire, one being of Redwulf with the moneyer COENED, and two of Æthelred II., one with the moneyer FORDRED, and the other indecipherable.

Dies in lead about half-an-inch square, and stamped in relief with a cross or quatrefoil sometimes occur. They probably date from the eighth century, and being alike in size, and of uniform type, they may have circulated in place of legal coin. The supposition is confirmed

¹ Lancashire and Cheshire Antiquarian Society's vol. x.

by the occurrence of similar objects amongst a find of stycas of Æthelred II. in 1814, on the head land at Castleton, Derbyshire, upon which Peveril Castle stands (see Bateman's *Museum Catalogue*, p. 162). A find of stycas struck in lead, of the reign of Eanred and Æthelred II. (with other coins) is said to have occurred about 1860, during some excavations in Fore Street, London. They had every appearance of being genuine pieces, and were purchased by Mr. Pearson, the numismatist. Unfortunately, collectors refused to accept them as such, and I admit that many still hold to their opinion.

The following table of the numbers contained in the various hoards shows the comparative rarity of the coins which supply the bulk of our cabinet specimens. Before the Hexham find the coins of Eanbald sold for upwards of £5 each, and those of Wulfhere are still far from common, although the York find alone produced over sixty specimens of them in various states of preservation. The Hexham hoard was probably deposited during the reign of Redwulf, as coins of Osbercht were absent.

The table referred to is printed on the following page.

<i>Hoard.</i>	<i>Eanred.</i>	<i>Æthelred II.</i>	<i>Redwulf.</i>	<i>Osbert.</i>	<i>Eanbald.</i>	<i>Wigmund.</i>	<i>Wulphere.</i>
Kirk Oswald, 1808 ...	99	350	14	1	1	58	5
Hexham, 1833 ...	318	402	37	none	56	80	none
York, 1842 :—							
Smith's parcel ...	66	226	5	12	1	30	3
Haigh's " ...	157	457	19	45	3	94	13
Hargrove's parcel ...	531	919	63	61	1	237	23
Wellbeloved's parcel ...	102	304	15	23	none	59	8
Fennell's parcel ...	66	252	8	23	none	57	8
Stonyhurst parcel ...	47	229	9	13	none	49	6
Ulleskelf, 1846 ...	70	267	5	18	9	47	5



SOME INTERESTING BRITISH MEDALS.

Plate I.

NOTES ON SOME INTERESTING BRITISH MEDALS.

BY CHARLES WINTER.

AT the Meeting of March 23rd, 1910, at which exhibitions of military and other medals were specially invited, Mr. S. M. Spink showed a collection from which the following have been selected for illustration, or description, and I have been asked by the Editors to offer a few explanatory remarks upon them.

The "Blake" gold medal, Fig. 1, is one of the rarest in the Naval series, and was issued by the Commonwealth to those officers who fought under Blake in the war against the Dutch in 1653. The specimen illustrated is of the smaller size, and was granted to captains. On the obverse is an anchor from which is suspended three shields charged with the crosses of St. George and St. Andrew, and the Irish harp. Reverse, ships in action. The larger medal granted to senior officers was surrounded by a wide border representing the bow, stem, mast, flags, drums, and arms taken from the enemy; both are in gold, and the work of the celebrated engraver Thomas Simon. Blake's own medal was purchased by His Majesty, King William IV.

The silver medal, Fig. 8, which bears the head of George II. is extremely rare, and was issued by an association formed by the Society of Friends in Philadelphia for the purpose of encouraging peace with the Indian tribes. *Obverse*, a laureated bust of George II., GEORGIUS · II · DEI · GRATIA · . *Reverse*, a white man and Indian seated by a fire, the former is passing the calumet of peace; on the

right is a tree and on the left the sun ; in the exergue is the date 1757. Legend, LET US LOOK TO THE MOST HIGH WHO BLESSED OUR FATHERS WITH PEACE.

Medals were struck in gold, silver, and bronze to commemorate the exploits of the two services against France, in consequence of the encroachments made by her upon our North American Colonies. On the obverse is a rock on which is a globe inscribed "America, Canada," supported by a soldier and sailor at whose feet is lying a prostrate figure representing France, who is in the act of letting fall a fleur-de-lys ; above the globe is a scroll on which appears the motto PARITER IN BELLA ; the Union Jack and Fame. *Reverse*, view of the cutting out of the "Prudent" and "Bienfaisant." Legend, "LOVISBOVRG TAKEN MDCCLVIII." The specimen shown by Mr. Spink was in gold.

A very interesting medal is the small gold memorial presented by Lord Newark to the commissioned officers of the Nottingham Troop of Yeomanry on the occasion of their disembodiment, May 13th, 1802. *Obverse*, bust of king to right, GEORGIUS III. MDCCCII ; *reverse*, an old oak tree—the oak of Sherwood—on which is inscribed "FOI LOI, ROI" : below, "Green Dale Oak" ; above, "NOTTS YEOMANRY." The non-commissioned officers and privates received it in silver.

A group of decorations granted to two brothers. The gold and enamelled cross is the badge of a Companion of the Order of the Bath, and is accompanied by the field officers' gold medal for the Battle of Albuhera, May 16th, 1811, when Beresford defeated the French under Soult. It was worn with a crimson riband with blue edges to which is attached a massive gold clasp granted for services at the capture of Martinique. The two decorations were conferred on Lieut.-Colonel John Mervin Nooth of the 7th Foot, now The Royal Fusiliers (City of London Regiment), which formed part of the Fusilier brigade in the memorable charge on the heights of Albuhera, when their loss was so heavy that it was proposed to form the remains of the two battalions into one. The silver medal with clasp for Corunna is one of the Military General Service type granted in 1848

by Queen Victoria. On the edge is inscribed, "Captain H. Nooth, 14th Foot."

On the assumption of the title of Empress of India in 1877 by Her late Majesty Queen Victoria, large gold, Fig. 6, and silver medals were struck in commemoration of the event. *Obverse*, diademed bust of the Queen-Empress with veil VICTORIA 1ST JANUARY, 1877; *reverse*, "Empress of India" in Persian, English, and Hindustani, the whole surrounded by an ornamental border. The medal was worn round the neck by a broad crimson riband.

The gold Seringapatam medals issued by the Honourable East India Company are very rare, and few collectors are able to produce an original specimen. Many restrikes, however, have made their appearance in late years. The medal, illustrated as Fig. 4, is a very fine original, and is one of only three that I have seen. *Obverse*, the British lion trampling on the Bengal tiger; a pennon floating overhead bears Tippoo Sultan's title "Asadullahal Ghalib"; exergue, IV May, MDCCXCIX. *Reverse*, view of Seringapatam with troops advancing to the assault; exergue, a Persian inscription. Mathew Bolton in 1801 struck :—

30 Gold.
185 silver-gilt.
850 silver.
5,000 bronze.
45,000 tin.

After a practicable breach had been made, on May 4th, 1799, the grand assault followed, and in a short space of time the British colours were planted on the summit of the breach.

Another rare medal given by the above company is that issued to the Coorgs for their loyalty to the British Government in suppressing the mutiny of their neighbours. *Obverse*, a Coorg warrior in the act of striking; legend in Canarese; *reverse*, trophy of Coorg arms. Legend, FOR DISTINGUISHED CONDUCT AND LOYALTY TO THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT, COORG, APRIL, 1837. The medal, Fig. 3, is in gold, but it was also issued in silver. Casts of these medals have of late been offered at sales.

One of the rarest decorations of recent years is the Albert Medal, granted for saving life. It consists of two classes, first, in gold, and second, in bronze. That for saving life at sea is distinguished by bearing an anchor and the monogram V.A. on a blue enamelled ground, and is worn attached to a blue and white riband, whilst that for saving life on land bears the monogram "V.A." on a red enamelled ground, and is worn with a red and white riband. The specimen shown as Fig. 5 is the second class badge for services on land.

Two examples of the Victoria Cross; one, Fig. 3, granted to a sailor which is worn on a blue riband, and the other granted to a soldier which is attached to a crimson riband. Both crosses are accompanied by the Indian Mutiny medal. The former was granted to Seaman Edward Robinson, Royal Navy, who died at Windsor, October 2nd, 1896. It was at Lucknow whilst serving in the Naval Brigade that he gained his Victoria Cross. On March 13th, 1858, the battery served by the Naval Brigade ignited, owing to the sandbags catching fire. Robinson dashed up and, under a terrific fire from the enemy, who were only 50 yards distant, succeeded in extinguishing the flames, but was dangerously wounded during this heroic act. The latter was granted to Corporal William Goat. This brave young soldier took part in the siege and capture of Lucknow in 1858. On March 6th, while in action with the enemy's cavalry, he coolly dismounted, took up Major Smyth of the 2nd Dragoon Guards, who was thought to be only severely wounded, and attempted to remove him off the field. This, at first, he was unable to accomplish being surrounded by the enemy's horse. Nothing daunted, he made a second attempt, this time under a heavy fire, and, succeeding in his endeavours in defiance of the rabble around him, removed the officer's body, for he was then dead, out of reach of those waiting to mutilate it.

A series of medals known as The Naval General Service which was granted for services during the turbulent period of 1793-1840. A clasp was issued for each engagement at which the recipient was present, but six was the largest number granted to any one man. That illustrated as Fig. 10 has three clasps. I would call attention to the single clasp "Trafalgar" exhibited, which is accompanied by a pewter



SOME INTERESTING BRITISH MEDALS.

Plate II.

medal presented to the seamen by Mathew Bolton, and is contained in an old Pinchbeck case.

The next series is that which was issued on the same occasion to the Army, and is known as The Military General Service. Unlike the sister service, many recipients received a large number of clasps, and they range from one to fifteen, but only two men were able to make good their claims for the largest number. The medals exhibited had from one to thirteen clasps, Fig. 11.

Medals issued to The Army of India, 1799-1826, Fig. 12, and for the campaigns of Waterloo, Fig. 7, Afghanistan 1842, Scinde 1843, Gwalior 1843, Sutlej 1845-1846, New Zealand 1845-1846, Fig. 4, Punjab 1849, Crimea 1854, New Zealand 1863-1866, and others of a later period including Egypt and Soudan 1882, were also exhibited.

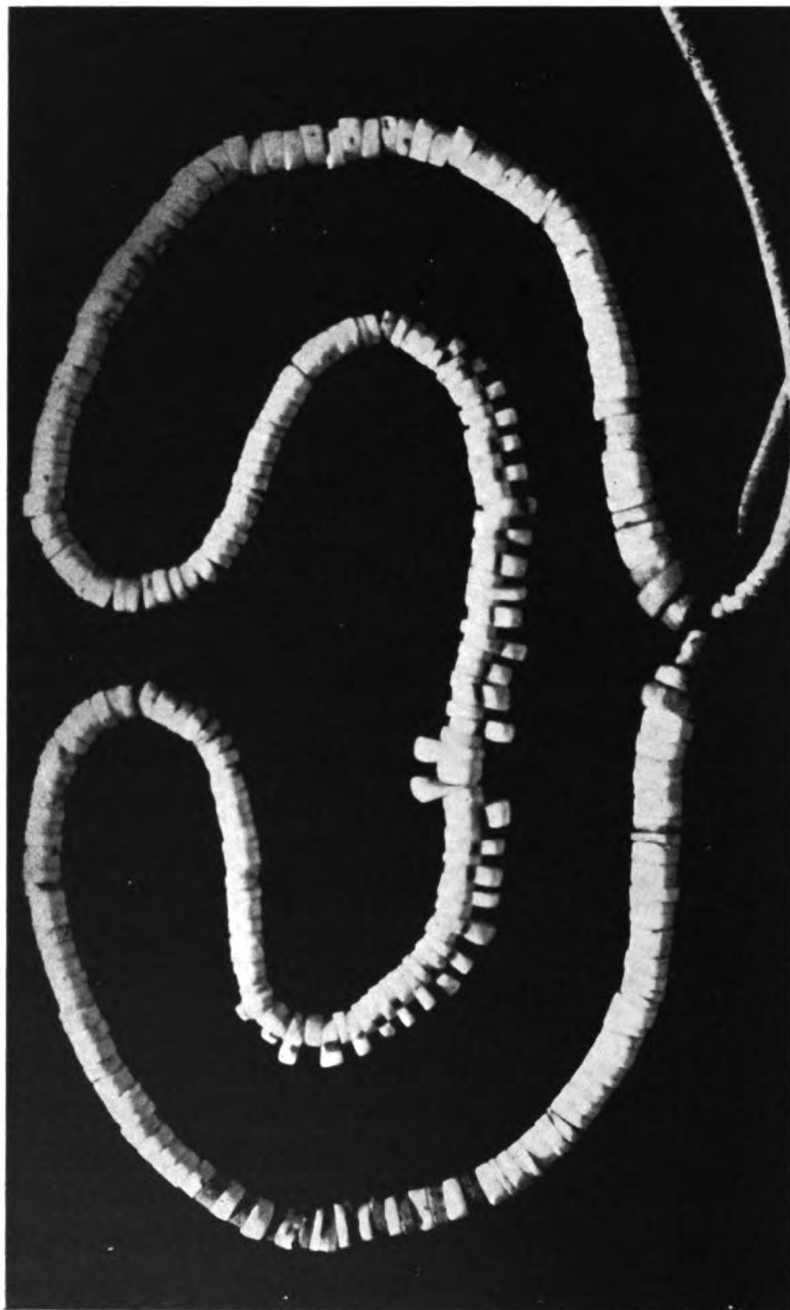
WAMPUM: THE NATIVE SUBSTITUTE FOR CURRENCY IN NORTH AMERICA.

BY NEHEMIAH VREELAND.

WAMPUM is a bead made from the clam, periwinkle, conch and other shells, used in former times by the Indians of North America as money. It was also adopted by the early Dutch, French and British colonists for the same purpose, and differed from the "cowries" in being a manufactured article; whilst to turn cowries into money all that was necessary was to find them and punch a small hole through them.

The question of currency or exchange was one of the most serious problems with which the colonists had to contend, and the scarcity of the European circulating medium rendered the adoption of wampum necessary in general trade. The Dutch were the first to employ it, and it went under the names "Seawant" and "Zewant," whilst by the French it was called "Porcelaine," by the Indians "Sewan," and Wampum was the British term.

It was not a cheap article of fictitious value, for the shells from which it was made were found only on the sea-shore, and the difficulty and expense of their supply proportionately increased their demand, according to the distance of the Indians of the interior, who used them, from the coast. Besides serving the Indian as a medium for exchange and a standard of value, wampum was their badge of wealth and position. From prehistoric times these beads were used by the Indians for personal decoration, the number of strings worn marking the wealth and social position of the wearer.



WAMPUM. A NAVAJO INDIAN'S NECKLACE, THE CENTRAL BEADS BEING PROBABLY PREHISTORIC. SIZE, $\frac{1}{4}$.

In all affairs of state the chiefs and sachems wore wampum belts around their waists or over their shoulders. In negotiations with other tribes every important statement was corroborated by laying down one or more belts. Friendships were cemented by them, alliances confirmed, treaties negotiated, and marriages solemnised. In all of these the giving of wampum added dignity and authority to the transaction. "This belt preserves my words," was the common phrase among the Iroquoise when promises were made. Some of the belts were of special design and employed to ratify every important treaty, and in effect were the same as the technical "delivery" of a deed of conveyance to-day. The redmen were born traders, and it is not, therefore, surprising to find in the localities of the most inland tribes, shells that had been picked up on both the Atlantic and Pacific coasts. There was a great variety of wampum. The tribes then occupying what is now known as California, New Mexico, Arizona, Tennessee, Georgia and Florida used different kinds, which are shown in the illustrations, but to describe and classify all in detail would require a large volume.

The variety used by the white colonists was manufactured in Massachusetts, New York, and New Jersey. There were two colours, white and dark purple. The dark, made from the heart of the clam

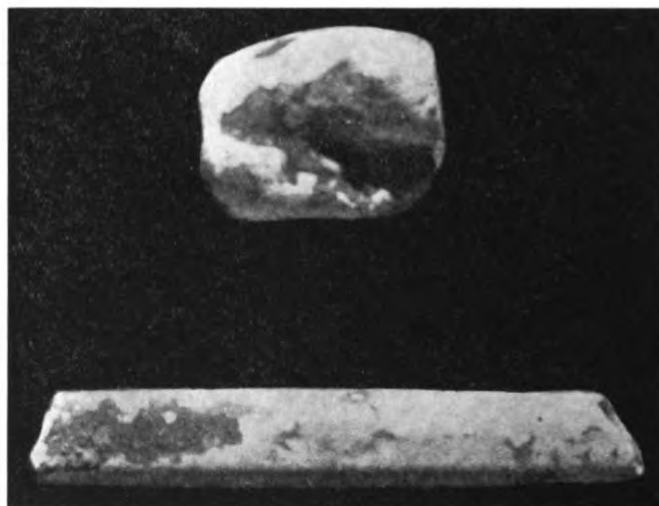


WAMPUM OF NEW MEXICO AND CALIFORNIA, WITH SAWN SHELLS BEFORE DRILLING AND ROUNDING. SIZE, $\frac{1}{4}$.

shell, was accounted double the value of the white. The dark wampum was known as "Suckauhock," and in size varied from three-eighths to

five-eighths of an inch long by one-eighth of an inch thick, being drilled lengthwise and strung on tendons of animals or on fibres of hemp. Suckauhock served the purpose for which gold coin is used, and the white, of half the value, served in the place of silver coin.

Wampum made by the Indian in some cases was crude, for rounding, polishing and drilling with flint or iron tools required great patience, coupled with considerable labour and skill. The drilling in some cases was performed with a bow and drill, similar to the bow-drill used by watchmakers and jewellers of the present day, which certainly dates its origin from prehistoric times.



PREHISTORIC WAMPUM FROM GEORGIA AND FLORIDA, FOUND IN OLD GRAVES. SIZE, $\frac{1}{8}$.

Lawson, the Carolina surveyor, writing of wampum in the year 1714, speaks of it as, "All made of shells which are found on the coast of Carolina, which are very large and hard, so they are very difficult to cut." He adds that "some English smiths have tried to drill this sort of shell money and thereby thought to get an advantage, but it proved so hard that nothing could be gained." Although anyone was free to make as much wampum as he pleased, the Indian never became wealthy by such a course, for the rich Indians were those who acquired wealth through trade, conquest, or both.

It was the custom to bury strings of wampum with the dead warrior, for the Indians believed he would have use for it in the next world, and that through the favour of the Great Spirit its possession would become in no small degree his passport to the happy hunting grounds. Wampum has been found in both very old and in recent graves, but such were often robbed for the wealth they thus contained.

The Algonquins of Connecticut used it to ornament their mocassins. The Sachems and great men of the tribe had belts, some of which contained so great a quantity of wampum that the English colonists valued them at eight pounds sterling, and these were treasured by the chiefs in much the same manner as are the crown jewels of the present day.

In the year 1641 the New Amsterdam (New York) Council promulgated an ordinance declaring that in the future all coarse wampum well strung, should pass at six for a stuyver, and the well polished beads should be valued at four for a stuyver.



IMITATION AND GENUINE WAMPUM. SIZE, $\frac{1}{4}$.

The colonists, however, did not escape the counterfeiters. The latter brought into circulation unperforated beads made of stone, bone, glass and porcelaine, with the result that the genuine wampum depreciated in value. Beads of porcelaine were manufactured in Europe to imitate wampum, sent to America and circulated among the colonists, but the Indians ever refused to take or recognise them.

The Director-General Stuyvesant tried to stop counterfeiting by an ordinance of May 30th, 1650, declaring that loose or unstrung wampum should no longer be legal tender, and dividing the recognised

medium into two classes : (1) Well strung and perfect beads to pass at the rate of three dark, or six white to one stuyver ; (2) The badly strung wampum at eight white or four dark beads to one stuyver. This measure, however, was not a success, for the scarcity of well strung wampum threatened to cause a financial disaster. On September 14th, 1650, therefore, the loose and imperfect beads were again made legal tender. Seven years later the supply of wampum was so large that the beads were reduced in value to eight for one stuyver.



WAMPUM FROM ARIZONA, NEW YORK (PREHISTORIC) AND TENNESSEE (PREHISTORIC).
SIZE, $\frac{1}{4}$.

In New England in the year 1637 it was ordered that wampum should pass at "six a-penny" for any sum of less than twelve pence. On October 7th, 1640, it was proclaimed that white wampum should pass at "four a-penny," blue at "two a-penny," and not more than twelve pence in value at one time should be tendered unless the receiver desired more. On May 22nd, 1661, the law authorizing the use of wampum as legal tender was repealed, and to a great extent the coining of silver then drove wampum beads out of circulation.

There were several places in New Jersey where wampum was made, Cape May and Pascack turning out the best. The factory

located at the latter place was operated by the Campbell family of four brothers, who emigrated from Scotland and settled near the head waters of Hackensack River. In addition to being manufacturers of wampum they were farmers.

After the close of the war in the year 1783 there was very little money in circulation, most of the trading being done by barter. The then ancestor of one of the leading families in New York of to-day took advantage of the conditions then existing and arranged with the Campbells to furnish him with wampum, with which he bought furs from the Indians, and thus laid the foundation of the vast fortune of his descendants.

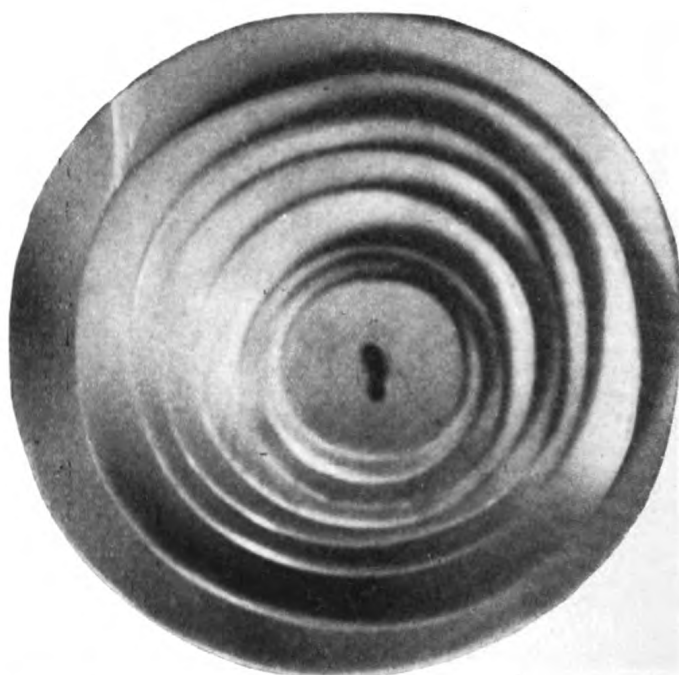


WAMPUM. "PIPES" MADE OF WHITE SHELL, USED BY INDIANS OF THE PLAIN. SIZE, $\frac{1}{2}$.

Some of the Indians grew wealthy and as time went on became more so. This created a desire and demand for something more showy in the way of shell jewellery. To supply this demand the Pascack factory made large wampum beads, measuring from one inch to six inches in length and highly polished. They were called "pipes." Also round shell discs were made called "moons" from one to three inches in diameter. The pipe variety was used by the Indian warrior

to decorate the breast of his vest or coat, also for braiding-in with his hair in the same manner that some of the gypsies of Europe use silver thalers.

The moons, made from beautiful pink shells, were worn like a breast pin at the throat, the wealthy chief having a full set, while the poor brave had only two or three of the smaller size. The Indian acted on the theory that anyone fortunate enough to possess any considerable amount would miss no opportunity of making a display of



WAMPUM. "MOONS" OF PINK SHELL, USED BY INDIANS OF THE PLAIN. SIZE, $\frac{1}{2}$.

the same, for Indians are naturally ostentatious. Pipes and moons thus acquired a standard value in trading among the Indians of the plains.

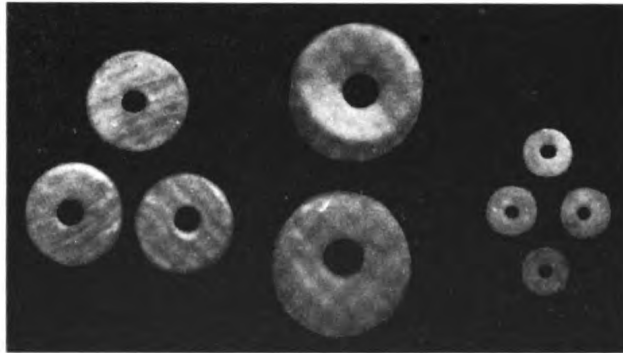
The day of wampum began to decline about the year 1830, there being little demand for it, except as pipes and moons. Glass beads were then imported from Europe in large quantities and usurped the place of wampum for Indian decoration.

So far as the colonists were concerned wampum was but an artificial currency. In Europe the beads had only the value of

curiosities, but the colonists had furs as a commodity with which to approach the European markets. But for over a century wampum played a most important part in the currency of the British and Dutch Colonies.

The Indians of Long Island were the greatest producers of wampum, for the reason that their supply of raw material was the best and obtained with little labour. The early name of the island was Sewan-backy, or the "land of the sewan shell." This mint of wealth was, however, of little benefit to the Indians of the Island, for their powerful neighbours, the Narragansetts, Pequots and Mohawks, compelled them to pay large tributes in wampum ; thus keeping them in a state of slavery.

In the early part of the seventeenth century wampum was not in general use in Massachusetts, for it is stated that in 1627 Isaac de Rasieres sailed from New Amsterdam to the British colony at New Plymouth on a trading expedition, and among other merchandise he had fifty pounds in wampum, which was only accepted with great reluctance by the New Englanders. About 1645 wampum reached its highest value in New England. It was the chief currency not only in

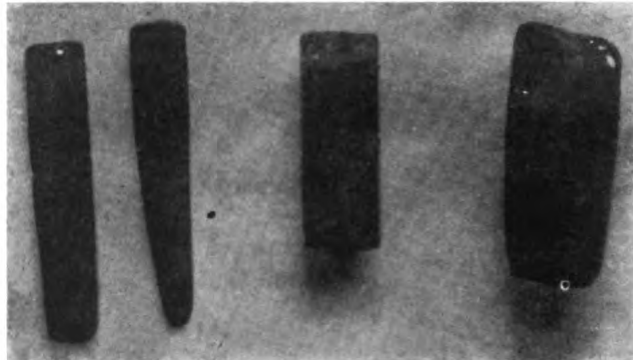


WAMPUM FROM CALIFORNIA, BRAZIL (PREHISTORIC), AND THE MARSHALL ISLANDS.
SIZE, $\frac{1}{4}$.

New York, but in the many settlements which were then under the control of the authorities at New York. In 1672 the inhabitants of New Castle, Delaware, imposed a tax of four guilders in wampum

upon each anker of rum imported or sold there. In 1693 the ferriage of a single person from New York to Brooklyn was eight stuyvers in wampum or two pence in silver.

The wampum used by the Indians who formerly inhabited the eastern part of North America was the most difficult to manufacture of all the shell wampum known. The writer was curious to find out whether it was hard to drill the beads; and having several undrilled beads in his collection, he submitted them to a number of lapidaries and pearl drillers. They however refused to drill the beads, excusing themselves on the ground that their tools were not adapted for the purpose. As a last resort the beads were taken to a machinist, with the result that in the first attempt the drill broke and in the second the bead was broken, showing that it must have taken the Indians, with their crude tools and methods, a long and laborious time to drill a single bead.



WAMPUM FROM AFRICA, JAPAN (PREHISTORIC), AND MEXICO (PREHISTORIC). SIZE, $\frac{1}{4}$.

The use of wampum was not confined to North America alone but was the primitive form of money in many parts of the world, as will be seen from the illustrations here given of a few varieties from California, Brazil (prehistoric), the Marshall Islands, Africa, Japan (prehistoric), and Mexico (prehistoric).

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OF THE

BRITISH NUMISMATIC SOCIETY

SESSION 1910.

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SESSION 1910.

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VOL. VII.

2 A

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The British Numismatic Society.

PROCEEDINGS.

1910.

ORDINARY MEETING.

January 26th, 1910.

P. W. P. CARLYON-BRITTON, ESQ., F.S.A.,

President, in the Chair.

The Minutes of the Ordinary and Anniversary Meetings held on November 30th, 1909, were read, confirmed, and signed by the President.

The following were nominated for membership :—

Thomas Edward Hodgkin, Esq.

The Belfast Library and Society for Promoting Knowledge.

The National Museum of Ireland, Art Division.

2 A 2

Lieut.-Colonel George W. Archer, R.E., M.A., F.S.A.
 M. Alfred Brigg, Esq.
 The University Club Library, New York.
 Everard Butcher, Esq.
 Joseph Charles Williams, Esq.

The two candidates proposed for membership on November 30th, 1909, were elected.

The PRESIDENT reported that Miss Farquhar had offered to present to the Society her collection of numismatic lantern slides, with the necessary exception of those to which copyrights applied.

Exhibitions.

Mr. H. Garside.—Original printed copy of the prospectus dated November 26th, 1812, issued by the Rev. Rogers Ruding for the publication by subscription of his well known work, *Annals of the Coinage of Great Britain and its Dependencies*.

Coins struck in the Royal Mint, London, for the Colony of British Honduras, namely :—

Silver, fifty cents, 1907.

Silver, twenty-five cents, 1907.

Nickel, five cents, 1907.

The Exhibitor remarked that nickel coins had not previously been minted for this colony.

Mr. L. A. Lawrence.—Box of coin weights and scales dated 1595, containing weights chiefly for foreign coins.

Copper cents of the United States of America for every year from 1793 to 1856, except 1799, 1804, 1809, 1811, 1815.

Metal gilt seal with portrait of Queen Anne on both sides as she appeared on the coinage. The seal represented a curious figure, over which was the motto INACVRAT.

Paper.

Mr. H. B. Earle Fox, before reading a paper introductory to a numismatic history of the first three Edwards, gave a brief account of the coins of those reigns, and showed that the old classification according to the abbreviated form of the king's name was far from correct. Edward I., he stated, struck long-cross pennies bearing his father's name during the first seven years of his reign, but in 1279 issued the rare groats often misdescribed as patterns, pennies reading EDW REX ANGL DNS HYB, and farthings. Halfpennies were added a year later. Pennies reading EDWARD were struck in 1302; and the name was reduced to EDWAR and EDWA before the king's death. Edward II. used both these forms; and all varieties of abbreviation were found on the pennies of Edward III. Hence there was no rough-and-ready method of separating the coins of the three kings, but each type could be satisfactorily placed in its chronological order.

See "Numismatic History of the Reigns of Edward I., II., and III.," commenced in Vol. VI, and continued in this volume.

The Director, Mr. Shirley Fox, gave an account of the work of the Research Committee, and submitted virtually complete mint-accounts of all the money coined at London and Canterbury from Edward I. to Richard III. He showed that the first-named king coined considerably over a million and a half pounds, Tower, of silver, representing some 386,400,000 pennies from these two mints alone. Among the later records was one for May and June, 1483, which showed that Edward V. coined as much as 49 lb. 10 oz., Tower, of gold, and 433 lb. 3 oz. of silver. This was of special interest, as no definite record of money having been struck in this reign had previously been known to exist.

ORDINARY MEETING.

February 23rd, 1910.

P. W. P. CARLYON-BRITTON, ESQ., F.S.A.,

President, in the Chair.

The Minutes of the Ordinary meeting held on January 26th, 1910, were read, confirmed, and signed by the President.

The following were nominated for membership :—

Mrs. Florence Emily Dixon.

Miss Edith Mary Cripps.

Charles Pryer, Esq.

Thomas Kenneth Mackenzie, Esq.

Frederick Arthur Walters, Esq., F.S.A.

The eight candidates proposed for membership on January 26th, 1910, were elected.

Exhibitions.

Miss Helen Farquhar.—Collection of coins of James II. including specimens of Gun money ; tin halfpenny and farthing and other examples illustrative of her paper on James II., such as Coronation medals, touchpieces, etc. Also two portraits of Anne, by Obrisset, in silver and tortoiseshell respectively, for comparison with the work of Roettier, and the badge given by Charles II. to Richard Penderel.

Mr. Harry Fentiman on behalf of Mr. S. M. Spink.

Coins and medals of James II., namely :—

James II. 5-guinea piece, 1687.

James II. 2-guinea piece, 1688.

James II. 1-guinea piece, 1685.

James II. Half-guinea, 1688.

James II. Crown, 1687.

James II. Half-crown, 1685.

James II. Shilling, 1687.



JAMES II. SIXTY-SHILLING PIECE, SCOTTISH.

James II. 6os. piece, 1688 (by Jan Roettier).



JAMES II. FORTY-SHILLING PIECE, SCOTTISH.

James II. 40s. piece, 1687 (by Jan Roettier).

James II. Proof of the Gun money crown, 1690
(in silver).

James II. Proof of the Gun money half-crown,
November, 1689 (in silver).

James II. Proof of the Gun money shilling, March, 1690 (in silver).

James II. Proof of the Gun money shilling, small size, May, 1690 (in silver).

James II. Proof of the Gun money sixpence,
January, 1689 (in silver).

Proceedings of the Society.

James II. Proof of the Gun money half-crown,
September, 1689.

James II. Proof of the Gun money half-crown,
June, 1690 (small size).

James II. Proof of the Gun money shilling,
November, 1689.

James II. Proof of the Gun money sixpence,
December, 1689.



JAMES II. PEWTER PENNY.

James II. Pewter penny, 1690.



JAMES II. PEWTER HALFPENNY, IRISH, 1690.

James II. Pewter halfpenny, 1690.

James II. Pattern for a guinea in copper, 1685.



JAMES II. CORONATION MEDAL.

James II. Coronation Medal, 1685 by Roettier.
(*Med. Ill.*, 606-8.)

James II. Scottish Parliament opened, 1685
by Smeltzing. (*Med. Ill.*, 607-10.)



JAMES II. "PRUDENCE" MEDAL.

James II. Medal, Prudence-of-the-King, 1685 by
G. Bower. (*Med. Ill.*, 607-11.)



JAMES II. "TUTAMEN" MEDAL.

James II. Medal, Tutamen ab Alto, 1685 by
G. Bower. (*Med. Ill.*, 611-8.)



JAMES II. MEDAL, THE SPANISH WRECK.

James II. Medal, Spanish Wreck Recovered, 1687
by G. Bower. (*Med. Ill.*, 619-33.)

Mr. A. H. Baldwin.

Medals of James II., viz. :—

Coronation Medal, 1685.

Naval Reward, 1685.

An impression in lead from the altered die after the
King's accession. Naval Reward, 1685, with loop.

Birth of Prince James commemorated in Holland, 1688.

Recovery of Spanish Treasure.

Monmouth and Argyle beheaded.

Dassier's medal.

James II. and Prince James, 1699.

Enamelled portrait of James II., by William Craft.

He exhibited at the Royal Academy from 1774 to
1781. This piece was illustrated in Volume VI, p. 213.

Mr. W. J. Andrew.

English sword, *temp.* Charles I., blade by Andria Ferara,
hilt embossed with medallions of Charles I. as St.
George, portraits of Charles, Archbishop Laud, and
(?) the owner, Col. Davenport. The system of
filing away the outer wrist guard was adopted in
England after Edge Hill, when it was found that
the German type of hilt, from which English cavalry
swords were copied, was not suited to English
exercise in the field, as it cut the wrist.

Box with embossed portrait of Charles I. by J. Jackson
coat of arms within.

Contemporary Miniature of Charles II. in copper frame
embossed with Cupids.

Bronze gilt statuette of Charles II.

Italian box with portraits inscribed in Italian "George
King of England and Margarita."

Mr. C. H. Nevill.

Noble of Richard II.



CHARLES I. RETURN TO LONDON, 1633, MEDAL.

Medal in silver of Charles I.'s return to London.
Pontefract shilling, lozenge shaped, 1648.



CHARLES I. SILVER POUND PIECE.

Charles I. Silver Pound piece of 1643, Oxford.
Cromwell half-crown, a forgery (for record purposes.)



CHARLES II. BRITISH COLONISATION MEDAL.

Charles II. British Colonisation Medal in silver.

Charles II. Crown of 1681. Elephant below bust.



WILLIAM III. AS PRINCE OF ORANGE, 1672.

William III. as Prince of Orange and Nassau, silver.
Anne Crown, VIGO, 1703.



ANNE. MEDAL OF EXPEDITION TO VIGO BAY.

Anne, silver medal of Expedition to Vigo, 1702.

George II. Crown, 1746.

George II. Half-crown, 1746.

George IV. Five-pound piece, 1826.

George IV. Crown, 1826.

William IV. Crown, 1831. Pattern.

William IV. Half-crown, 1831. Pattern.

Victoria. The Arctic medal.

Pattern in silver of the Anglesea penny token.

Mayoral medal of Altrincham, 1739, in lead.



VICTORIA, THE ARCTIC MEDAL.

Mr. S. Page.

Four curious Carolean pieces, viz. :—

Half-crown of Charles I., mint-mark Anchor. Rude equestrian figure of King, lettering coarse, reading AV • SPICE on reverse : of uncertain mintage.



CURIOUS HALF-CROWN OF CHARLES I. MINT-MARK, ANCHOR.

Shilling of Charles I., as illustrated. From a find in



UNCERTAIN SHILLING OF CHARLES I.

Lincolnshire, in which there were two or three specimens of the same type and mint-mark as that shown in Miss Farquhar's article but this bust is very remarkable.



CURIOUS SHILLING OF CHARLES I., SHREWSBURY MINT.

Shilling of Charles I. of the Shrewsbury mint differing in type from that described in Hawkins, but



SHILLING OF CHARLES I. *described on page 382.*

apparently similar to No. 553 of the Montagu Catalogue, 3rd portion.



SHILLING OF THE COMMONWEALTH, 1659.

Shilling of the Commonwealth, dated 1659, with mint mark "sun." As this coin is entirely new, both as to the date 1659 and mint-mark for that year, and

as its workmanship does not quite conform with the official work of the period, it is possibly a contemporary imitation; but it is neither an altered coin nor a modern forgery.

Mr. Joseph Young (Leicester).—Henry VI. Angel. Restoration Coinage.



ANGEL OF HENRY VI.

Obverse.— > HERRICVS > DI > GRX > REX < ANGL' <
> > BRITANIE >

Reverse.—+ **PER** > **Λ** **GRVSE'** **TVN'** **STLVN** - **ROS**
 * **PE'** - **RDE'** **T** **h** to left and fleur to right of
 cross. Weight, 79 grs.

Half-Angel of Henry VI.



HALF-ANGEL OF HENRY VI.

Obverse.—**HERIC' x DEI GRAT A REX ANGI A S PR.**

Reverse.—O DRV A A X A ΠVE A SPES V A A NIDT
 ♀ T A R to left and fleur to right of shield.
 Weight, 39·8 grs.

Mr. W. M. Maish.—Henry VII. penny, 1st issue.

T to left and small cross, to right of neck. **R** in centre of reverse cross. York, Archbishop Rotherham. The coin is broken at the edge, above the crown.

Paper.

Miss Helen Farquhar contributed a paper on the reign of James II. in continuation of her interesting series descriptive of the portraiture of our Stuart monarchs on their coins and medals. She deplored the decline of artistic merit as evinced in the concluding decades of the seventeenth century, which she attributed partly to the lack of emulation, once the milled coinage was fairly established, and partly to the fact that the trend of affairs prevented James from giving the same personal supervision to numismatics that had been vouchsafed to this branch of art by his father and brother. With the working of the Cornish tin-mines she associated the issue of the currency in that metal; and from evidence gleaned from the Treasury Papers and manuscript sources she offered reasons for the attribution of the Irish gun-money to the younger members of the Roettier family rather than to John Roettier, whose right hand was disabled in 1689 by an infirmity of the muscles. Miss Farquhar pursued her usual method of tracing the origin of the portraits upon the medals to their prototypes in statuary or pictures, illustrating her lecture with numerous lantern-slides for this purpose; and she exhibited a series of medals and coins of the period, including the tin halfpenny and farthing, also two portraits of Anne by Obrisset in silver and tortoiseshell, for comparison with Roettier's work, and the original badge given by Charles II. to Richard Penderel after Worcester fight.

This paper was printed in Volume VI.

ORDINARY MEETING.

March 23rd, 1910.

P. W. P. CARLYON-BRITTON, ESQ., F.S.A.,

President, in the Chair.

The Minutes of the Ordinary meeting, held on February 23rd, 1910, were read, confirmed, and signed by the President.

The following were nominated for membership :—

Miss Mary Willey Clarke.
Frederic Cornish Frost, Esq.
Hugh Cecil Lea, Esq., M.P.

The five candidates proposed for membership on February 23rd, 1910, were elected.

Exhibitions.

Miss Helen Farquhar.—A selection from her cabinet of badges of the time of Charles I.

Major Freer.—A representative series of medals awarded to the officers and men of the 43rd Foot (Monmouthshire Light Infantry, now First Battalion, Oxfordshire Light Infantry), in illustration of his paper which will be printed in Volume VIII, and there described.

Mr. H. C. Lea.—A similar series, also to be included in Major Freer's paper.

Mr. Charles Winter, on behalf of Mr. S. M. Spink.—A selection of war medals, with notes upon them which are printed in this volume.

Mr. E. E. Needes.—Military General Service medal with thirteen clasps, William Ingham, 7th Foot. This medal represents the full service of the regiment in the Peninsular War.

Waterloo Medal. Troop Sergeant-Major M. Marshall, 6th or Inniskilling Dragoons, who was "in the thick of the fight, remaining on the field two days and three nights with nineteen lance and sabre wounds. He died at Belfast, September 28th, 1825."

Group of two medals and the decoration of C.B. awarded to Major-General A. Hervey. The medals are Army of India, two clasps Nagpore, Nepaul, and Punjab, two clasps Mooltan, Googerat.

"Conspicuous Gallantry" medal. William Bevis,

sick-berth attendant, H.M.S. *Boadicea*. Awarded for attending the wounded under fire at the disastrous battle of Majuba Hill in 1881. Mr. Needes remarked : "I think it may safely be concluded that this is the only medal awarded to a naval recipient for that war,"

Crimea, one clasp Azoff, William Marshall, 1st engineer, H.M.S. *Weser*. The exhibitor explained that this was the only Crimean medal that had come to his notice in which the name of the ship was officially impressed.

Mr. B. W. Russell, of Leicester, per Major Freer, Medals of the Leicester Regiment (the 17th):—

Capture of Louisbourg, 1758. Not named.

17th Regimental School, 1816. Not named. The reward of merit.

Army of India, 1 bar, Nepaul. T. Plant.

Capture of Ghuznee, 1839. Jno. McHugo.

Crimea, 1 bar Sebastopol ; Turkish Crimea. Sergt. D. Leary.

Crimea, 1 bar Sebastopol ; Turkish Crimea ; Meritorious Service. Sergt. C. Peake, 2nd Batt.

Afghanistan, no bar. Pte. M. Slack, 1st Batt.

„ 1 bar, Ali Masjid. Pte. J. Atkinson, 1st Batt.

I.G.S., 1 bar Burma, 1887-9. Pte. J. Knight, 2nd Batt.

I.G.S., 3 bars, Burma, 1887-9 ; Hazara, 1891 ; Samana, 1891. Pte. P. Bates.

Long service and good conduct. Pte. H. Willday.

Distinguished conduct in the field. Isaac Hawley.

Total abstinence and moral conduct. Not named.

Mr. A. H. Baldwin.—Fine examples of the following :—

Military General Service with 12 clasps, 52nd Foot.

Naval General Service with two clasps, "1st June,

1794"; "Copenhagen, 1801," to A. Mackenzie,
1st Lieut. R.M.

Naval General Service with two clasps, "Egypt."
"St. Sebastian," to C. H. Jay, midshipman.

Army of India, with clasp "Nepaul," to Capt.
J. Johnson, 30th N.I.

First Burmese War, 1824-6, medal with lion and
elephant.

China, 1900, with clasp "Defence of Legations"
(only 61 issued).

Volunteer officers' decoration, Victorian issue, V.R.
in monogram.

Volunteer officers' decoration, Colonial, V.R.I. in
monogram.

Indian Volunteer Forces, officers' decoration, E.R.I.
in monogram.

Colonial Auxiliary Forces, officers' decoration,
V.R.I. in monogram.

Colonial Auxiliary Forces, officers' decoration,
E.R.I. in monogram.

Medals issued during the reign of Edward VII. :—

Ashanti, 1900, with clasp "Kumassi."

Delhi Durbar, 1903.

Transport medal, with clasp, "S. Africa, 1899-
1902."

India with clasp "Waziristan, 1901-2."

Africa General Service, two clasps, "Somaliland
1902-4," "Jidballi."

Tibet, 1903-4, with clasp "Gyantse."

„ „ in bronze, without clasp, to camp
followers.

Natal Native Rebellion, with clasp, "1906."

"For Distinguished Conduct in the Field."

"For Long Service and Good Conduct."

Volunteer Long Service and Good Conduct.

Naval Long Service and Good Conduct.

Naval Gunnery medal.

Militia Long Service and Good Conduct.

Special Reserve Long Service and Good Conduct.

Metropolitan Police, Coronation, 1902 (Bronze).

Police Ambulance Service, Coronation, 1902 (Bronze).

Lieut.-Colonel H. W. Morrieson.—The medal for the first Burmese War, 1826, for Native troops only, struck in a special metal and awarded to Major, afterwards Lieut.-General, Hitchins, Deputy Adjutant-General to the Madras troops engaged in that campaign. Lent for exhibition by his daughter-in-law, Mrs. Hitchins.

The Japanese medal for the late war with Russia in gold. This medal was awarded to the foreign Attachés and Correspondents. Only seventeen were awarded to British subjects, one of whom, Major R. J. McHugh, 6th London Brigade, R.F. Artillery, had kindly lent this for exhibition.

Dr. Stanley Bousfield.—The original puncheon for the die of the reverse of the medal from the London Highland Society to the Black Watch, 42nd Foot, commemorating the death of Sir Ralph Abercromby in Egypt, 1801. This puncheon came from the Soho mint, and was executed by S. F. Pidgeon during his employment there by Boulton. It was bought by the late W. J. Taylor at the sale in Birmingham, 1850.

Mr. Philip Laver.—Early British quarter stater, type Evans c. 14, found at Colchester.



EARLY BRITISH QUARTER-STATER FOUND AT COLCHESTER.

Mr. L. A. Lawrence.—Series of the short cross pennies, *temp.* Henry II.—Henry III., illustrating the ornamented letters and other variations from the standard design.

Half groat of Edward III., of the period 1351–60, reading **EDIVITOR LONDONII**.

Papers.

Miss Helen Farquhar introduced the subject by exhibiting a few specimens from her collection of Stuart badges, and read a paper on their possible use as military rewards during the Civil War. She adduced documentary evidence to prove that both King and Parliament awarded badges to those, such as Walsh, who distinguished themselves in action, quoting the Forlorn Hope and Dunbar medals. In some cases she traced the portraiture by Rawlins to its prototypes in Van Dyck's pictures, notably the King's three-quarter-length figure on the Edge Hill medal, which, apart from Lely's copy, was our only reminiscence of the original picture, destroyed in the Whitehall fire.

This subject will be treated by the writer more fully in a paper intituled "The Edgehill and other War Medals of Charles I.," which will appear in a future volume.

Major Freer contributed a monograph on the history of war-medals as illustrated by those awarded to the officers and men of the old 43rd Foot and Monmouthshire Light Infantry, now the 1st Battalion Oxfordshire Light Infantry. In tracing the story of the regiment from its origin in 1741 he was able, by biographical notices of individual officers and men, to identify many of the names on the large collection of these medals which he exhibited. Mr. H. C. Lea addressed the meeting on the medallic history of the same regiment, and exhibited an almost complete series of its medals.

Major Freer's paper will be printed in Volume VIII.

ORDINARY MEETING.

April 27th, 1910.

P. W. P. CARLYON-BRITTON, ESQ., F.S.A.,

President, in the Chair.

The Minutes of the Ordinary meeting, held on March 23rd, 1910, were read, confirmed, and signed by the President.

The following were nominated for membership :—

Mrs. K. Arthur-Bhenna, R.N.S.

Alfred Rider, Esq.

The three candidates proposed for membership on March 23rd, 1910, were elected to membership.

Exhibitions.

Mr. L. L. Fletcher.—Stratford “half-halfpenny” with bust of Shakespeare to right.

Major Freer.—Highland Society's Abercromby gilt medal in original case given to the 42nd Regiment (the Black Watch) for Egypt, 21st March, 1801.

Two silver medals from the Day Sale, Lot 348, described in *Tancred* as follows :—

Nottinghamshire Yeomanry Cavalry, 1802. *Obverse*: Head of George III. GEORGIVS III. M.D. CCCII. An old oak tree on which is inscribed “FOI LOI ROI” below GREEN DALE OAK; above, NOTTS YEOMANRY. On the 13th May, 1802, the Nottingham troop of Yeomanry assembled previous to their disembodiment, on which occasion Lord Newark presented to each member of the corps this medal: commissioned officers, gold; non-commissioned officers and privates, silver. See p. 336.

Rutland Legion Riflemen.—*Obverse*: The head of George III. GEORGIUS III. DEI GRATIA. *Reverse*: A circular target surrounded by the words, "RUTLAND LEGION RIFLEMEN AND GOOD CONDUCT."

Mr. Henry Garside.—Nickel five-cent. piece for Ceylon.

Bronze twelfth of a shilling for Jersey.

Bronze twenty-fourth of a shilling for Jersey.

Silver shilling for the Commonwealth of Australia.

All bearing the crowned bust of King Edward VII. on the obverse.

Mr. S. H. Hamer.—The Stratford-on-Avon medal to Shakespeare, September, 1789, in silver and copper.

J. G. Hancock's token, with bust of Shakespeare.

Reverse: THIS IS MY WORK, JOHN GREGORY HANCOCK, AGED 7 YEARS, 1800, etc. But the true age of the artist was then eight.

Twelve Warwickshire tokens bearing the bust of Shakespeare or "muled" with the Stratford token commemorating him.

Mr. Hamer's exhibitions are illustrated as a plate to Mr. Ogden's paper on Shakespearean portraiture printed in this volume.

Mr. W. Sharp Ogden.—An original portrait of Shakespeare hitherto unknown to the public. Illustrated as the frontispiece to his paper in this volume.

A series of engraved portraits of Shakespeare, some of which were varied from the portraits illustrated in his paper.

Medal by Barre, 1816, of Shakespeare.

Four halfpenny tokens, 1790-1-2, of Shakespeare.

Seven rude halfpence of Shakespeare.

Cornelian intaglio of Shakespeare.

Crystal intaglio of Shakespeare.

Mr. F. A. Walters.—Coins of Elizabeth, mint-mark lys or the earliest issue, viz. :—

Half-sovereign, hitherto unrecorded.

Shilling reading ELIZABET.

Groat " "

Shilling ,, ELIZABETH.

Groat " "

Half-groat ,, "

Penny ,, E·D·G·ROSA·SINE·SPINA ··

All with a thin wire inner line to the legend.

Shilling mint-mark lys with beaded inner circle.

Paper.

Mr. W. Sharp Ogden read a monograph on "Shakespeare: his Portraiture, Painted, Graven and Medallie," in which he reviewed the history and expression of the most authentic of the portraits preserved to us, and traced their influence and inspiration in the by no means numerous or important series of commemorative medals and tokens bearing Shakespeare's likeness. These pieces ranged from the earliest, by Dassier in 1731, quite down to modern times, and their limitations and deficiencies were severely criticised by the lecturer. Shakespeare, he contended, still awaited his medallie apotheosis, and it was essential that an effort—national by preference—should be made to perpetuate in medallie form the true portraiture, not only of Shakespeare, but of other great Englishmen, whose pictorial presentments we were carelessly allowing to pass into stereotyped conventionalism. Whilst dwelling on the importance of vitality in portraiture and the insufficiency of merely featural correctness, he mentioned the striking and life-like presentments produced by the medallists of Greece and Rome as examples of true art, preserved in an indestructible form for thousands of years.

A newly discovered and remarkably life-like oil portrait of Shakespeare was then unveiled, which, Mr. Ogden explained, had been preserved for many generations by an old Lancashire family as the portrait of the Bard. The subject represented the face turned slightly to the spectator's right, showing the characteristic nose, eyebrows, mouth, high forehead, falling brownish hair, with trimmed moustache

and short beard, the collar and costume being of the fashion of the day. The effect was described as a striking presentment, distinct from, yet in absolute accordance with, the accepted likenesses. The canvas measured $21\frac{1}{2}$ in. by $16\frac{1}{2}$ in., and was of the web peculiar to most English portraits of the early part of the seventeenth century.

Although Dr. Martin, who was present, urged that no portrait said to represent Shakespeare should be accepted without both external and internal evidence of authenticity, and mentioned the Droeshout engraving as the only trustworthy memorial in this respect, the general feeling of the members present was in favour of Mr. Ogden's attribution.

Mr. Ogden also exhibited numerous engraved portraits and photographs for comparison; and an almost complete series of the medals, coins, and tokens bearing Shakespeare's bust was shown by Mr. Hamer and Mr. Fletcher.

The paper is printed in this volume.

ORDINARY MEETING.

May 25th, 1910.

P. W. P. CARLYON-BRITTON, ESQ., F.S.A.,

President, in the Chair.

The Minutes of the Ordinary Meeting, held on April 27th, 1910, were read, confirmed, and signed by the President.

The PRESIDENT read copies of the letters he had despatched to Their Majesties King George V. and Queen Mary, also to Her Majesty Queen Alexandra, on behalf of the Society, expressing deep sympathy at the loss sustained by the decease of the nation's beloved King, Edward the Seventh.

Col. Henry Ferryman Bowles, M.A., J.P., was nominated for membership.

The two candidates proposed on April 27th, 1910, were elected to membership.

THE "JOHN SANFORD SALTUS MEDAL."

The PRESIDENT informed the members present that Mr. John Sanford Saltus, of Broadway, New York, one of the Society's Vice-Presidents, had handed to the Society a sum of £200, the income from which was to be expended in striking a gold medal to be presented triennially for the best paper published in the *Journal*, the medal to be awarded by the ballot of the general members.

The PRESIDENT read the rules as approved and passed by the Council for the constitution of the Medal, which the meeting approved and adopted. The President proposed that a vote of sincere thanks should be accorded to Mr. Saltus for his handsome gift, which was unanimously passed with applause.

Presentations.

The National Battlefields Commission.—Medal in commemoration of the Tercentenary of the Founding of Quebec by Champlain.

Mr. R. Dalton.—Part I., "Eighteenth Century Tokens" issued by Mr. Hamer and the donor.

Exhibitions.

Major Freer.—Memorial medal to King Edward VII. in bronze, and in white metal struck by Messrs. Spink and Son, Ltd., and designed by Mr. Winter.

Mr. Oswald Fitch.—Gold penny of Henry III. issued to pass current at the value of twenty silver pennies by a writ dated at Chester, August 16th, 1257. These coins did not meet with favour, and were accordingly withdrawn in November of the same year, although they were mentioned in various records down to about 1270. The

only variation in this piece from the Murdoch specimen (which realised £325 at Sotheby's on Wednesday, April 1st, 1903) is that there is no "N" after LVNDE.

Only five other specimens are known to exist, two being in the British Museum, one in the late Sir John Evans' collection, one belonging to Col. Ellis, and one in America. The present example is owned by the exhibitor, and was obtained from the Evans collection, which formerly possessed two specimens.

Mr. Henry Garside.—Nigeria, British West Africa. Aluminium one-tenth of a penny, dated 1908, and nickel one-tenth of a penny, dated 1908, also an aluminium half cent minted for the British East Africa and Uganda Protectorates, dated 1908. The latter coin clearly demonstrates by its corrosion the unsuitability of aluminium for currency in tropical climates.

Mr. S. M. Spink. An album illustrating a new method of mounting coins and medals.

Mr. H. Symonds.—Henry VIII. penny. *Obverse* as Hawkins' second coinage, but with mint-mark **T**: *reverse*, **QIVITAS QARTOR. WTK** at sides of shield, no mint-mark. Hawkins states that the second issue was of London and Durham only, and he does not record this mint-mark on any pennies of this reign. Weight, 10 grains.

A recently found brass ticket or advertisement, *obverse* .THO EVOMY, *reverse* DORCHESTER: the initials H.P. are engraved upon it.

A burgess of this name traded there as a joiner in 1698-9. The piece may perhaps be regarded as an aftermath of the seventeenth century tokens. The countermark H.P. is much later.

Mr. W. C. Wells.—Three Hiberno-Danish imitations of coins of Aethelraed II. and Cnut.

Paper.

Mr. Bernard Roth read a paper entitled "The Coins of the Danish Kings of Ireland," in which he illustrated and described 242 varieties of these interesting silver pennies, which were issued from the close of the tenth century to the beginning of the twelfth. For the purposes of his study he had searched the museums and private collections, not only of Great Britain and Ireland, but also of Norway, Sweden, Finland, and Denmark, with the result that, for the first time a thoroughly representative and almost comprehensive series had been classified, and to a great extent chronologically arranged. New types and varieties were thus added to our knowledge, and Mr. Roth was enabled to correct many errors of previous writers on the Hiberno-Danish coinage. An interesting feature was that the designs on these coins were for the most part imitated from contemporary issues in England, and by careful comparison the lecturer was enabled to assign them to approximate dates.

The paper was printed in Volume VI.

ORDINARY MEETING.

June 22nd, 1910.

P. W. P. CARLYON-BRITTON, ESQ., F.S.A.,

President, in the Chair.

The Minutes of the Ordinary Meeting, held on May 25th, 1910, were read, confirmed, and signed by the President.

The PRESIDENT informed the meeting that he had received replies to his letters to Their Majesties the King and Queen and to Her Majesty Queen Alexandra, referred to at the last meeting.

The PRESIDENT read a copy of his letter to the Private Secretary to H.M. The King and the reply received from Sir William

Carington, in which he stated that the King was graciously pleased to become Patron of the Society.

The PRESIDENT reported that he had received the sum of ten pounds from Miss Farquhar towards a fund for lantern slides, that Dr. Nelson had promised to present all his lantern slides to the Society, and that Fleet-Surgeon Weightman, R.N., had lent his camera to the Society in the hope that it would be found of use for numismatic photography, in which case he would present it to the Society. The President proposed that a hearty vote of thanks be accorded to the donors, which was passed.

The following were nominated for Membership :—

Herbert M. Ellis, Esq., F.S.I.

The Rt. Hon. George Ulick, Earl of Altamont, F.S.A.

Alfred B. Jacobs, Esq.

The Earl of Altamont, who came under paragraph V of the Rules, and the candidate proposed for membership on May 25th, 1910, were elected to membership.

Presentation.

Mr. John Sanford Saltus, V.P.—Badge of the Society of the Colonial Dames of America. *Reverse* : VIRTUTES MAJORVM FILIÆ CONSERVANT.

Exhibitions.

Mr. S. M. Spink.—A carefully selected series of the Danish coinage of Northumbria in illustration of Mr. Andrew's paper, containing fine examples of the silver pennies of Cnut, Siefred, Regnald, Anlaf, and Eric.

Miss H. Farquhar.—A variety of the silver penny of Cnut, King of Northumbria.

Mr. L. A. Lawrence.—A penannular gold ring or bracelet with pointed ends, weight 18 dwt., being of the type believed to be used also as "ring-money."

Mr. Henry Laver.—Ancient British Gold Stater. *Obverse*: Laureate beardless bust in profile to the left as in Evans, Plate A, No. 4, but when the bar through the wreath is put in the same direction the shoulder ornament does not correspond with No. 4. It occupies a larger space than in either No. 2 or No. 4. *Reverse*: Horse to left as in No. 4, but in general design more nearly resembling the reverse of No. 2. Found near Maldon, Essex. Weight, 115 grains.



GOLD STATER FOUND AT MALDON.

Mr. F. A. Walters.—Roman second Brass of Antoninus Pius with varied bust of the reverse type of BRITANNIA. Found at Croydon, 1905.

Mr. W. Machado Maish.—Richard II. Half Noble without flag reading: **R**EX **z** **A**NGL **z** **D** **z** **E**YB **z**, with the letter **a** in the centre of the reverse. Two lions, three lys.

Mr. Kenyon says, "The ornaments on the ship seem always to be three lions with a lys between each."



HALF NOBLE OF RICHARD II.

Charles I. shilling, type 26, mint mark, *obverse*: rose; *reverse*: plume, an unrecorded combination of mint-marks. Illustrated on p. 366.

Mr. H. Garside.—Political Gold Medal of which the exhibitor was the originator, struck in the year 1890 for the Accrington Division of Lancashire. The obverse bears an undraped bust of Sir Robert Trotter Hermon-Hodge Bart., and the reverse a design symbolical of the Parliamentary Union of Great Britain and Ireland. The obverse design was by the late Mr. John Pinches and that of the reverse by the exhibitor.

Mr. A. H. Baldwin.—Specimens of the recently issued Two-shilling piece and the Sixpence for the Commonwealth of Australia, dated 1910.

Two-shillings. *Obverse* : Crowned and mantled bust of His late Majesty. Legend : EDWARDVS VII D : G : BRITT : OMN : REX F : D : IND : IMP : *Reverse* : Arms of the Commonwealth, around, ONE FLORIN—TWO SHILLINGS, and date 1910.



AUSTRALIAN TWO-SHILLINGS.

Sixpence. As the Florin in type, but reverse reads SIXPENCE, 1910.



EDWARD VII. AUSTRALIAN SIXPENCE.

Papers.

The PRESIDENT read a paper on "The Winchcombe Mint," in which he transferred to it the coins of the Saxon and Norman period

bearing the mint-name WINCELES, variously contracted. Most of these had previously been attributed to Winchelsea, but Mr. Carlyon-Britton, following his rule that the mints were restricted to boroughs, pointed out that prior to the Conquest Winchelsea had not that status, whereas Winchcombe in Gloucestershire, anciently known as Wincelcumbe and Winchelscomb, was a residence of Coenwulf early in the ninth century, when he founded its abbey; and in the time of Canute it was not only a borough, but, with its surrounding district, also a county of itself.

The paper was printed in vol. vi.

Mr. W. J. Andrew, Secretary, contributed the first part of his treatise on "The Viking Coinage in England." Of the series contemporary with the reign of Alfred, the initial difficulty was the place-name intended by the legend CVNET TI, which so many of the coins bore as their place of origin. After calling attention to the Christian character of the designs and inscriptions, and the translation of the see of St. Cuthbert to Chester-le-Street, near Durham, at the very date of the issue of the coins, he cited many examples of transposition of the letters C and T on the coins and in manuscripts of this period, and even on the regal coinage in King Canute's name, which, he suggested, was due to the close similarity of those two letters in the rustic hand. This would be used by the monks of Chester-le-Street when sending their instructions to the moneyers of York for the dies, and no doubt accounted for the name of their see, *Cuneca-civitas*, being contracted and misread as CVNET TI, instead of CVNEC CI, on the coins. He added that Mr. Anscombe had, in support of this explanation, quoted a passage from Bede, "H. E.," IV. xxii. p. 250, in which the same name is written *Tunnacæstir* in the manuscript, which could only be due to a similar and contemporary error. Another mint, SCELDFORD, Mr. Andrew assigned to Shelford on the Trent, supporting his arguments by comparison of the remains there of a dock and defensive trenches with similar works at Fulham, Cambridge, and other places where the Danish army was known to have wintered, and by the presence in Shelford Church of a contemporary stone cross of distinctly Scandinavian origin.

ORDINARY MEETING.

July 20th, 1910.

P. W. P. CARLYON-BRITTON, ESQ., F.S.A.,

President, in the Chair.

The Minutes of the Ordinary Meeting, held on June 22nd, 1910, were read, confirmed, and signed by the President.

New Members.

The following were nominated for membership :—

Leonard Collinson, Esq.

Charles Masson Fox, Esq.

Edward Kynaston Burstal, Esq.

Capt. Walton Mellor.

The candidates proposed for membership on June 22nd, 1910, were elected to membership.

Exhibitions.

Dr. Ernest C. Carter.—A denier of Cambrai recently discovered in the garden of Mr. Fred Ticehurst at Brimpsfield, Gloucestershire. The exhibitor explained that it was found at the bottom of a hollow seventy yards outside the moat of the Castle, which was a stronghold of the Giffard family in early times and demolished in the reign of Edward the Second. Less than a quarter of a mile away is the Priory field, so named from being the site formerly of a Priory, which was a cell to St. Stephen's at Foutenay, in Normandy.

Obverse.—GVIDO · EPISCOPVS +

Reverse.—CAM | ERA | CEN | SIS

i.e., Guy, Bishop of Cambrai.

A list of the ecclesiastics obtained from the Curator of the Cambrai Museum showed no fewer than three bearing the name of Gui or Guido, who might have been responsible for the coin. They were

Gui de Collemède, 1306.

Gui d'Auvergne, 1336.

Gui de Ventadour, 1348.

In default of more exact information one could not be certain whose coin it is, but it seemed to the exhibitor most likely from its style to belong to the first of that name.

Mr. S. H. Hamer.—Seven tokens not recorded in “Atkins” on which he supplied the following notes: “During the eighteenth-century token period, Thomas Spence, of No. 8, Little Turnstile, Holborn, London, issued a number of tokens, the designs being intended to convey some phase of political doctrine. To make varieties his dies were freely muled, and afterwards some were used by Skidmore muled with his own. With the exception of 128/585*a*, which has an unrecorded edge, viz., milled, and which is a well-struck specimen, the series appears to have been struck after the dies had become somewhat worn, or on flans which had not been curved on the faces by turning on a lathe. This process provides an extra thickness of metal centrally where most is needed. It would be noticed that the specimens, with the exception of Middlesex 585*a* and ‘Not Local’ 95 (*bis*), are not centrally struck, the upper and lower dies not being concentric. Possibly the impressions were surreptitiously taken by some workman, and hence the careful setting of the dies was omitted. The general design, a cat, and the legend MY FREEDOM I AMONG SLAVES ENJOY, suggest the inference that the cat had more liberty or freedom than its master. The specimen

of 389 (*bis*) has the reverse from Skidmore's cracked die. 585a has a dog and legend MUCH GRATITUDE BRINGS SERVITUDE. 199/30 (*bis*) has an anchor and cable, legend H. PINTOSH HORSHAM, 1791, and is not recorded by C. Pye. 'H. Pintosh' was probably a fictitious name. 214/90 (*bis*) has the bust of William Hallan, of Birmingham. The obverse of his token informs us that he was a dealer in china and Staffordshire ware, in all its branches, at No. 2 Bull Ring: the reverse, that he kept The Intelligence Office for Masters and Servants, 1792. Another reverse shows a cream jug, teapot, etc., legend DEALER IN GLASS AND STAFFORDSHIRE WARE. No. 244/17 (*bis*) has a very similar bust, but the legend is PAYABLE AT SALISBURY. 247/28 (*bis*) has a shield of arms with date 1791, being the reverse of a token purporting to be issued by T. Santer, of Kidderminster, and 368/95 (*bis*) has the conjugate busts of Louis XVI. and Marie Antoinette, and the date 1795. The date was not added to this die until after it had been used with four reverses. That these seven unrecorded tokens should thus come to light together was remarkable."

Lt.-Col. H. W. Morrieson.—Silver medal of the Congr s International de Numismatique et d'Art de la M daille, held at Brussels, June, 1910.

A counter struck at the stall of the exhibits of the Belgian Royal Mint at the Brussels Exhibition, in the presence of the Members of the Congress.

Paper.

Dr. Philip Nelson gave an interesting address, illustrated by lantern slides, on "Historical Events as depicted on our Coinage," in which he explained the chain of cause and effect which linked the devices, materials, and even denominations of our money, from the

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earliest times to the present day, with passing events and upheavals in our constitutional government for the time being. In particular he illustrated a series of obsidional coins issued during the wars of Charles I., which still bore the original designs and plate-marks of the silver plate from which the material for the money had been supplied.

ORDINARY MEETING.

October 26th, 1910.

P. W. P. CARLYON-BRITTON, ESQ., F.S.A.,

President, in the Chair.

The Minutes of the Ordinary meeting, held on July 20th, 1910, were read, confirmed, and signed by the President.

The PRESIDENT referred to the Portuguese revolution and the welcome extended to Their Majesties the King of Portugal and Queen Amelie, both Royal Members of the Society, on their arrival in England.

The PRESIDENT also referred to the death of Prince Francis of Teck, the Queen's brother, and the Secretary was directed to convey the Society's condolences to Her Majesty Queen Mary and also to His Majesty the King.

The following were nominated for membership :—

George William Barber, Esq., J.P.

John Winfield Aitken, Esq.

Brigade Surgeon Lt.-Col. Herbert Major Morgan, V.D., J.P.

The Most Noble Victor Christian William, Duke of Devonshire.

Bauman Lowe Belden, Esq.

La Bibliothèque d'art et d'archéologie, Paris.

Joseph Mallaby Dent, Esq.

His Grace the Duke of Devonshire, who came under paragraph V of Chapter II. of the Rules, and the candidates proposed for membership on July 20th, 1910, were elected.

The PRESIDENT read the list of names recommended by the Council for the Officers and Council of 1911, and nominated with the approval of the Meeting the appointment of Mr. R. H. Wood and Mr. L. L. Fletcher as Auditors under Chapter XIX. of the Rules.

Presentations.

Mr. Roth.—A Literary and Historical Atlas of Europe.

Mr. P. J. D. Baldwin.—*The History of the Victoria Cross*, by P. A. Wilkins.

Mr. S. M. Spink.—*Description of the British and Foreign Orders of Knighthood and Decorations of 1772-1846*, of General Sir George Murray.

Plaster cast of the John Sanford Saltus Médal.

Exhibitions.

Mr. E. K. Burstal.—A penny of Stephen, Hawkins type 270 of the Thetford Mint, over the obverse die of which a large cross had been cut extending from edge to edge of the coin. From the Nottingham find of 1880.

Mr. Oswald Fitch.—Two remarkably clear specimens of Hawkins types 270 and 269 of Stephen's coinage, both from the Rashleigh collection.

Mr. S. M. Spink.—A selection illustrating rare and obsidional pieces of the reign of Stephen, which will be described in detail in Mr. Andrew's Numismatic History of the reign.

Mr. H. Symonds.—A Romano-British Æ of Allectus of the London Mint. *Reverse*: VIRTVS AVG. Trophy between two seated captives. In field [S]A. In exergue M.L. Found at Dorchester in 1898. Only one example of this type was known to Mr. P. H. Webb when he wrote his monograph in 1906. This specimen differs in showing the paludamentum.

Mr. S. H. HAMER read the following notes :—

BIRMINGHAM WORKHOUSE HALF-CROWNS.

During the period of token currency of the XVIII. and XIX. centuries the Overseers of the Poor at Birmingham had struck tokens for two shillings and sixpence ; Pye says, six dozen in copper, brass, and white metal, but the latter were probably only plated specimens. They are of the penny size, and on the obverse have a representation of a beggar and child receiving alms from a female seated, by whose side stands a child. On the reverse, in script characters, are BWH, above it the date 1788, and the legend : TWO SHILLINGS AND SIX PENCE.

Some specimens have "W" countermarked on both obverse and reverse, and some have had the words AND SIXPENCE obliterated, thereby reducing the value of the piece to two shillings.

Specimens in copper and brass, and a plated example countermarked, were shown.

Also the exceedingly rare half-crown of 1811 in silver. *Obverse*: a view of the workhouse similar to that which appears on the shillings and sixpences of the same period. Above it, BIRMINGHAM TOKEN. In the exergue 2s. 6d. and the date in Roman numerals, MDCCCXI. *Reverse*: a shield of arms of the Birmingham family. Legend, ONE POUND NOTE FOR 8 TOKENS, inner legend, PAYABLE AT THE WORKHOUSE. A specimen was sold in 1901 ; Mr. H. B. Bowles was the purchaser, and his collection is now by bequest the property of the Bristol Corporation.

I am not aware that any specimen has ever been offered for sale until that now exhibited was sold last May at the dispersal of the collection of the late Mr. Robert Oliver, of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, who had formed his collection at the time of issue, and wrote a manuscript list of his tokens in 1815.

Mr. Hamer also exhibited the several varieties of the Buxton token of 1796.

An Address.

A remarkable hoard of coins of the reign of Stephen was exhibited by the courtesy of the Duke of Devonshire. In the course of a descriptive address Mr. W. J. Andrew remarked that the find as submitted was complete, and comprised 95 silver pennies and 7 halfpennies, representing the only currency known in England in Norman times, the halfpennies being then merely pennies cut into halves along the lines of the cross on the reverse design, and so issued from the mints. The hoard was found in 1867 within the precincts of the foundations of the old Hall at Sheldon, near Bakewell, Derbyshire, and was enclosed within a leaden vessel. With the coins at Chatsworth were some fragments of stained glass which were labelled as found with them, but they were probably mixed with the excavated soil, for Mr. Andrew had Dr. Nelson's authority for dating the glass *circa* A.D. 1400. These fragments led the lecturer to think that they were possibly relics of the original chapel at Sheldon, the predecessor of the fifteenth-century building which stood on the adjoining road. The family De Sheldon was of local importance in the twelfth century, and its representative in Stephen's time, as holder of considerable lands within the Peak and its borders, would follow the banner of William Peverel, of Nottingham, custodian of the Peak. As an esquire of his household, De Sheldon would be present with his lord at the defeat of David of Scotland at the battle of the Standard in 1138, at Nottingham in 1139 during Peverel's rebellion against the King, with him when he fought at Stephen's side at the battle of Lincoln in 1141, and again at Nottingham when the town was lost and regained, to return home in 1142 at the close of Peverel's military operations.

The treasure was exactly what De Sheldon might be expected to have gleaned under those conditions: it included Scottish money of King David; the bulk of it was collected at Nottingham and Lincoln; and it was certainly buried in 1142. To Peverel's rebellion of 1139 Mr. Andrew attributed a series of coins of the Nottingham mint, plentifully represented in the hoard, from which Stephen's name had

been carefully erased. The troubles at Lincoln were suggested by several varieties new to numismatists. A coin of this mint bearing the obverse legend \div PERERICM was further evidence of his attribution of this inscription to the Empress Matilda as an imitation of her title IMPERATRIX, the M being now for the first time supplied. To Alexander, Bishop of Lincoln, he ascribed the issue of the whole series of Hawkins type 630. This was present, and also a coin from its obverse die, but furnishing a new reverse design, composed of a fleured compartment upon a long engrailed cross. As money of necessity issued by Peverel at Nottingham during his rebellion in 1139-40, he classed the type on which a cross Calvary, probably Peverel's badge, was stamped over the King's bust, and of which the hoard contained a dozen examples. Now a fresh variety of it was added, upon which the cross was stamped over the sceptre : and another bore it in a still more pronounced heraldic form. He contended that Hugh Bigod had similarly emphasized his authority in East Anglia by impressing his "cross gules" upon the money of Norwich and Thetford in the form of a large cross extending from edge to edge of the coin, over the entire bust of the King ; but a Thetford example only of this money was found at Sheldon. The Abbot of Peterborough's corresponding issue at Stamford was represented by a specimen of the variety on which the sceptre was converted into a cross ; and an example issued by the Archbishop of York was new, in that the annulet, or ring of St. Peter, was added to the head of the sceptre. These coins, with others not there represented, clearly indicated a general resort by the chief potentates of the land to the issue of money of necessity, which should at least circulate under their local authority, at a period when there seemed little likelihood of a return to any regal administration.

The actual date of the deposit of the treasure was deduced from the interesting fact that although no specimen of Stephen's second coinage, namely Hawkins 269, was present in its entirety, its reverse was in evidence on four "mules." Mr. Andrew believed that, for fiscal reasons, on a general recoinage the reverse dies were first prepared and delivered to the moneyers, with permission to use them in combination with the old obverse dies until those for the new

obverse design were ready, and thus "mules" resulted during the first months only of a new type. There were many reasons for assuming that Stephen's second coinage was issued soon after his release in November, 1141, and therefore it was evident that the Sheldon hoard was deposited early in 1142. Two of these "mules" were of exceptional interest, and new to numismatists, for their obverse bore a crowned bust, facing, with star to right and sceptre to left, held over the shoulder as on Henry II.'s money, the inscription being . . . IMP., but on both obverse and reverse otherwise resembling Stephen's second coinage. They thus disclosed an entirely new type of the Empress Matilda. Other varieties in the hoard exhibited Stephen's first type (Hawkins 270), with his head to the left instead of to the right, and one or two Scottish coins. The very remarkable character of the find as a whole may be gathered from the fact that nearly one-half of the coins represented either money of necessity or currency issued by other than the regal authority.

The paper is published in this volume.

ORDINARY MEETING.

November 30th, 1910.

P. W. P. CARLYON-BRITTON, ESQ., F.S.A.,

President, in the Chair.

The Minutes of the Ordinary Meeting, held on October 26th, 1910, were read, confirmed, and signed by the President.

The President announced to the Meeting that the Council had nominated Alfred Anscombe, Esq., F.R.Hist.S., for election as an Honorary Member of the Society.

The following were nominated for membership :—

Alfred William Lafone, Esq.

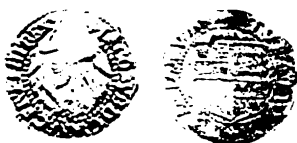
Hal Waddington, Esq.

Charles Alexander Cain, Esq., J.P.

The candidates proposed on October 26th, 1910, were elected to membership.

Presentations.

Mr. S. M. Spink.—Plaster casts of the following coins recently sold by Messrs. Sotheby, Wilkinson and Hodge :—



QUARTER ANGEL OF JAMES I.

James I. Quarter Angel m.m. lis, IACOBVS. D. G. AN. SC. FR. ET. HI. REX. Archangel St. Michael spearing the dragon : *Reverse*, TVEATVR VNITA. DEVS. Uncrowned shield of arms with England and France quarterly in first and fourth quarters of shield (weight, $19\frac{1}{2}$ grs.). A hitherto unknown coin of this reign.



HENRY VI. LIGHT HALFPENNY OF BRISTOL.

Henry VI. Halfpenny of the light issue (weight, $7\frac{1}{4}$ grs.) of the Bristol mint m.m. cross **RENR** [**IC REX** **TRGLI**], pellet each side of crown : *Reverse*, **VIL** [**LT BR**] **ISTOV**, trefoil of pellets in each angle of cross, which appeared to be the first halfpenny of this mint of the reign that had been met with, and was quite unpublished.

Exhibitions.

Mr. H. Garside.—The Queen Victoria pattern sixpence struck in silver for the year 1887. The exhibitor believed that no example of the type occurred in the Montagu or



A HANOVERIAN NAVAL BADGE OF *CIRCA* 1745.

Murdoch collections, but it was represented in the collection in the Royal Mint Museum.

Mr. S. M. Spink.—Badge, silver with pendant, of about the year 1745, issued in England during the war of the Austrian succession by the loyal Association in favour of the Hanoverian claims against those of Prince Charles Edward and his alliance with France. Mr. Spink explained that the badge in its design depicted the close alliance between England and Austria, and its naval characteristics were interesting in view of the fact that “the question at issue was really that of the naval supremacy of one or the other Power (*i.e.*, France or England) rather than the Austrian succession, the ostensible cause of the war.”

It comprised a large openwork design ($5\frac{1}{2}'' \times 3''$) of old paste brilliants, the centre formed of an oval panel painted with central shield of St. George transfixing the French arms, which lie upon the ground; supporters, the British lion and the Austrian eagle; above, a trophy of flags. The badge is surmounted by a large naval crown, and beneath the panel is the motto, FOR OVR COVNTY, on a blue enamelled riband, from which is suspended an oval pendant also set with paste brilliants, in the centre of which is depicted the figure of Britannia seated, holding spear and olive branch, and resting upon her shield, which is charged with the Union Jack.

The designs on the panel and pendant are almost exactly duplicated on the back of the badge, but in this case they are beautifully engraved by hand, and gilt. It was in its original shagreen case.

A somewhat similar badge was in the exhibitor's possession in the year 1906, and was illustrated in the *Numismatic Circular* for August of that year. It was, however, rather smaller, and in place of the Britannia on the pendant it had a large paste brilliant, and

Mr. Spink believed there was no decoration on the back.

These badges must be compared with a silver medal dated 1745 referring to the same events.

“Fine” sovereign of Elizabeth with mint-mark hand. The mint-mark is not given by Kenyon for this denomination, but a specimen occurred in the Murdoch collection.

Penny of Edward the Confessor, sovereign type, of the usual characteristics, but omitting on obverse the cross to the orb in the King’s left hand, of the Winchester mint.

Another of similar type of Gloucester, but on reverse the martlets are here depicted without legs.

Dr. P. Nelson.—Drawing from late twelfth century glass of a square-shaped crown similar to that depicted on some of the Anglo-Saxon and Norman coins.

ANNIVERSARY MEETING.

The President read the Report of the Council for the seventh year since the inauguration of the Society as follows :—

REPORT.

The Council has the honour to present its seventh Annual Report.

The year 1910 has been fraught with deep sorrow to the nation, caused by the death of its beloved Sovereign, the late King Edward VII. In this your Society has not only borne its patriotic share, but it has tendered its respectful and heartfelt sympathy in their sad bereavement to the several members of the Royal Family who have so graciously supported its interest by becoming Royal Members.

On November 30th, 1909, the Society consisted of 19 Royal, 20 Honorary, and 497 Ordinary Members, the total being 536.

On his accession His Majesty King George V. most graciously honoured the Society by consenting to become its Royal Patron, an honour which has not previously been conferred upon it, and which will be gratefully appreciated by every member.

During the year the Society has lost one of its Royal Members by the decease of H.M. Leopold II., late King of the Belgians, and four of its members from a like cause, and it is with feelings of deep regret that the Council records their names as follows :—

Oliver C. Goldthwait, Esq., F.E.S.

William Edward Kelly, Esq., D.L., J.P., F.R.S.A.(Ireland).

Edward F. Knott, Esq.

Sir James Clifton Robinson, Kt.

The list of Honorary Members has been reduced by six owing to the retirement from this country of the following representatives of foreign Powers at the Court of St. James's :—

His Excellency the Hon. Joseph Hodges Choate, late American Ambassador.

His Excellency Monsieur Frank Ernest de Bille, G.C.V.O., Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of H.M. the King of Denmark.

His Excellency Commendatore Alberto Pansa, late Italian Ambassador.

His Excellency Count Tadasu Hayashi, late Ambassador of H.I.M. the Emperor of Japan.

His Excellency Señor Don Luis Polo de Barnabé, G.C.V.O., late Spanish Ambassador.

His Excellency Monsieur Dimitry George Métaxas, G.C.V.O., late Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of H.M. the King the Hellenes.

The following fifteen members have also resigned from the Society :—

Alfred Anscombe, Esq., F.R.
Hist.S.
Sir Augustine F. Baker, Kt.,
M.A.
J. O. Butcher, Esq.
John Walker Ford, Esq., F.S.A.,
D.L., J.P.
A. R. Frey, Esq.
Horace Heywood, Esq.
Frank T. Kieffer, Esq.
George Edward Knight, Esq.,
F.S.I.

Lyman H. Low, Esq.
Lieut.-Col. G. B. Croft Lyons,
F.S.A.
Christian G. Moritz, Esq.
Leonard S. Ridout, Esq.
John Burham Safford, Esq.,
F.G.S., F.R.Hist.S.
Frank Buffington Vrooman, Esq.,
F.R.G.S.
Isaac Walton, Esq.

and fifteen have ceased to be Members under Section III. of Chapter IV. of the Rules.

The Council records with pleasure the election of the 35 following Members :—

John Winfield Aitken, Esq.
The Right. Hon. George Ulick,
Earl of Altamont, F.S.A.,
D.L.
Lieut.-Col. George W. Archer,
R.E., M.A., F.S.A.
Mrs. K. Arthur-Behenna.
George William Barber, Esq.,
J.P.
Bauman Lowe Belden, Esq.,
Director of the American
Numismatic Society.
The Belfast Library and Society
for Promoting Knowledge.
Col. Henry Ferryman Bowles,
M.A., J.P.
M. Alfred Brigg, Esq.
E. K. Burstal, Esq.

Everard Butcher, Esq.
Miss Mary Willey Clarke.
Leonard Collinson, Esq.
Miss Edith Mary Cripps.
Joseph Mallaby Dent, Esq.
His Grace the Duke of Devon-
shire.
Mrs. Florence Emily Dixon.
Herbert M. Ellis, Esq., F.S.I.
Charles Masson Fox, Esq.
The Library of Art and Archæ-
ology of France.
Frederic Cornish Frost, Esq.,
F.S.I.
Thomas Edward Hodgkin, Esq.
The National Museum of Ireland,
Art Division.
Alfred B. Jacobs, Esq.

Hugh Cecil Lea, Esq., M.P.
 Thomas Kenneth Mackenzie,
 Esq.
 Capt. Walton Mellor.
 Brigade Surgeon Lieut.-Col. Her-
 bert M. Morgan, V.D., J.P.
 Arthur Peirce, Esq., H.B.M.
 Consul for Yucatan.
 Charles Pryer, Esq.

Bernard A. Quaritch, Esq.
 Alfred Rider, Esq.
 The University Club Library,
 New York.
 Frederick Arthur Walters, Esq.,
 F.S.A., Hon. Sec. of the
 Royal Numismatic Society.
 Joseph Charles Williams, Esq.

SUMMARY.

	<i>Royal.</i>	<i>Honorary.</i>	<i>Ordinary.</i>	<i>Total.</i>
30th November, 1909 ...	19	20	497	536
Since elected	—	—	35	35
	19	20	532	571
Deceased	1	—	4	5
Resigned	—	6	15	21
Amoved	—	—	15	15
30th November 1910 ...	18	14	498	530

In addition to the high honour of the Patronage of His Majesty King George V., the year has been momentous to the Society in other respects.

Shortly after his appointment as a Vice-President of the Society, Mr. John Sanford Saltus, of New York, intimated, through your President, his willingness to found a gold medal to be awarded triennially by the ballot of the members to the author of the paper printed in the Society's publications which in their opinion was the

best in the interests of numismatic science. In order that the triennial awards of the medal might date back from the foundation of the Society he offered to provide an additional medal to be similarly awarded at the anniversary meetings in the years 1910 and 1911. Your Council on behalf of the Society most gratefully accepted the offer, and Mr. Saltus thereupon deposited the sum estimated by your President as sufficient for the purpose, namely, £200, in the hands of your Treasurer. It was thought that it would be your wish that the name of the founder should be identified with the medal, and the Council therefore named it "The John Sanford Saltus Medal." Rules for its award, embodying the above provisions, have been drafted and adopted in General Meeting. The design originated with your Council, and the medal was placed in the competent hands of Mr. Frank Bowcher, whose rendering of it is now before you, and it is hoped to reproduce it in facsimile in Volume VII. of the *Journal*. Your Council has conveyed to Mr. Saltus your unanimous and grateful appreciation of this munificent mark of favour.

To assist members in illustrating their papers read to the Society or lecturing on numismatics, it was considered desirable to institute a series of lantern slides for that purpose under the direction of Mr. L. A. Lawrence and Mr. Shirley Fox. Towards this object Miss Helen Farquhar has not only given her own collection of numismatic slides, but has also subscribed the sum of £10; Dr. Philip Nelson has promised his slides, and Fleet-Surgeon Weightman, to whom the members will recollect they are indebted for their handsome lantern, has offered his camera to the Society, provided it may be serviceable for the purpose of providing such slides. On behalf of the members the Council has expressed its best thanks to these generous donors.

The importance of the Research Fund, which was fully explained in last year's Report, is a matter in which the Council is deeply interested. Under the able direction of the Research Committee, and notably of Mr. H. B. Earle Fox and Mr. Shirley Fox, much original and valuable information has been gleaned by research amongst the still unpublished muniments of the Record Office. As previously

stated, this will be exclusively used in the Society's *Journal*, and must further increase the historical value of that publication. The fund, however, is now reduced to £19 17s. 5d., but it is trusted that the support it has received will be generously continued and increased by the members.

Volume VI of the *Journal* is now on the table, and the members are indebted to its contributors and to the editors for a publication which in the Council's opinion continues to represent the progressive work in British numismatics which this Society has for its principal aim and object. It is gratifying to the Council to acknowledge the evidence it contains of the learned and industrious labours of those who conduce to the now assured status of the *Journal* as an accepted factor in the elucidation of British history. The coloured plate contained in this volume is the gift of Miss Farquhar.

The able services of Lieut.-Colonel Morrieson, as Librarian, continue to advance the value of the department under his direction, which is becoming more useful and popular year by year.

This year your Treasurer, Mr. A. C. Hutchins, F.C.A., has had to meet an increased expenditure, but nevertheless his accounts disclose a satisfactory balance, and the Council wish to record its high appreciation of his careful and business-like accounts and methods. To the auditors, Mr. Lionel L. Fletcher and Mr. R. H. Wood, A.C.A., the thanks of the Society are also due for their honorary supervision.

Members must always remember that the Society is indebted to the President and Mr. Mellor Lumb, one of the members of the Council—as Messrs. Upton, Britton and Lumb—for the probably unique advantages of enjoying its suite of rooms rent free. Members will unite with the Council in expressing their acknowledgment of this favour.

The meetings have been well attended, and perhaps even more general interest has been taken in the debates as evidenced by the discussions which have followed.

The donations to the Society's Library and collection, and the exhibitions at its meetings, have been both interesting and numerous, and the thanks of the Society are due to those who kindly made them.

Amongst the exhibits, however, was one to which special attention must be drawn. The Duke of Devonshire, who has this year joined the Society as a life member, most kindly submitted a remarkable hoard of pennies and halfpennies of the reign of Stephen which, although found at Sheldon on his estates in Derbyshire so long ago as in 1867, had remained "unthought of and unknown" until then. A full account of the hoard will be published in Volume VII. of the *Journal*. It is by important assistance such as this that the historical work of the Society can be so greatly advanced.

In order to be in a position to place members in communication with others interested in the same special sections of numismatic research, the Secretary, Mr. Andrew, has opened an Information Register, and canvassed the members by circular for the names of those willing to give information upon the various sections of the science. The result has been eminently successful, for he has already been enabled to make 238 entries in it, representing the assistance of 70 members who have volunteered to correspond with others on their specified sections of research.

The Council congratulates the Members upon a very progressive year in the annals of the Society, and trusts that they will bear in mind that they themselves can assist in the cause by bringing its objects before their friends with a view to increasing the number of Members, for, as in most affairs, the greater the number of helpers the greater is the work accomplished; and we have much before us.

The Report was received with an expression of approval by the Members present, and it was moved by Mr. A. C. Fox-Davies, seconded by Mr. Stroud, and resolved that the same be adopted.

Ballot for the Election of Officers and Council for the year 1911, and also for the award of the John Sanford Saltus Medal.

The PRESIDENT declared the Ballots open from 8.15 p.m. to 8.45 p.m., and with the approval of the meeting nominated Mr. Andrew and Mr. A. C. Fox-Davies as Scrutators, who reported, and the President

announced that the Officers and Members of the Council as set out in the balloting list had been duly elected, viz. :—

OFFICERS AND COUNCIL.—SESSION 1911.

President :—P. W. P. Carlyon-Britton, Esq., F.S.A., D.L., J.P.

Vice-Presidents :—The Right Hon. the Lord Grantley, F.S.A., D.L., J.P.; L. A. Lawrence, Esq., F.R.C.S., F.R.S.A. (Ireland); The Right Hon. the Lord Peckover of Wisbech, I.L.D., F.S.A., F.L.S., F.G.S., J.P.; Max Rosenheim, Esq., F.S.A.; Bernard Roth, Esq., F.S.A., J.P.; J. Sanford Saltus, Esq.

Director :—Shirley Fox, Esq., R.B.A.

Treasurer :—Alexander C. Hutchins, Esq., F.C.A.

Librarian :—Lieut.-Colonel H. W. Morrieson, Late R.A., F.S.A.

Secretary :—W. J. Andrew, Esq., F.S.A.

Council :—Sir G. R. Askwith, C.B., M.A., K.C.; P. J. D. Baldwin, Esq.; Thomas Bearman, Esq.; Stanley Bousfield, Esq., M.A., M.D.; G. Thorn Drury, Esq., B.A.; Miss Helen Farquhar; Oswald Fitch, Esq., F.G.S.; Lionel L. Fletcher, Esq.; Major William J. Freer, V.D., F.S.A.; Mellor Lumb, Esq.; Philip Nelson, Esq., M.D., Ch.B.; W. Beresford Smith, Esq.; Samuel M. Spink, Esq.; Herbert William Taffs, Esq.; Frederick A. Walters, Esq., F.S.A.

Award of the John Sanford Saltus Medal.

The SCRUTATORS also reported and Mr. A. C. Fox-Davies announced that the ballot for the award of the John Sanford Saltus Medal had resulted in favour of Mr. CARLYON-BRITTON with a majority of 45 over any other contributor, and that his paper, "A Numismatic History of the Reigns of William I. and II.," had received the larger proportion of his votes.

Treasurer's Report.

The TREASURER read the Balance Sheet for the past financial year, and distributed copies of the same to members present. It was moved by the Treasurer, seconded by Mr. Fitch, and resolved that the Treasurer's accounts be adopted.

It was moved by the President, seconded by Mr. Andrew, that a vote of thanks be accorded to the Treasurer, and also to the Auditors, for the assistance they had rendered to the Society.

The British Numismatic Society.

INCOME AND EXPENDITURE ACCOUNT FOR THE YEAR ENDED NOVEMBER 18TH, 1910.

Dr.	<i>Expenditure.</i>	<i>Income.</i>	Cr.
	£ s. d.		£ s. d.
To printing and binding the 1909 <i>Journal</i> , including reprints, plates, blocks, and expenses of distribution	... 418 13 5	By subscriptions	... 492 10 0
" printing and stationery	... 45 10 0	" admission fees	... 29 8 0
" Presentation of addresses	... 2 7 0	" subscription compounded	... 15 0 0
" postages	... 22 15 4	" dividends and interest	... 22 14 1
" expenses of Meetings	... 9 5 8	" <i>Journal</i> for 1908. Over-estimated in last account	20 2 11
" reports of Meetings	... 5 4 6		
" sundry expenses	... 2 11 3		
" secretarial fee	... 52 10 0		
" clerk to Council	... 10 10 0		
Total	... 569 7 2		
" balance, being surplus of income over expenditure	10 7 10		
			£579 15 0

Original from
UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN


An Address.

The Director, Mr. Shirley Fox, gave a brief account of the work accomplished by the Research Committee during the year. They had now obtained almost complete accounts of the amounts of bullion coined from the beginning of the reign of Henry III. to the death of Richard III., and had accumulated material with special reference to the "long-cross" coinage and the reigns of the first three Edwards. Amongst the more important facts which his brother, Mr. Earle Fox, and he had been able to establish were : (1) Identification of the latest variety of the "short-cross" coinage ; (2) Date of the closing of the provincial mints and introduction of the sceptre type in the "long-cross" coinage ; (3) Issue by Edward I., for several years after his accession, of "long-cross" coins bearing his father's name ; (4) Identification and full history of Edward I.'s "new money" of 1279, which included, for the first time, groats and round farthings ; (5) History of the great coinage of 1300 ; (6) Issue of money in the palatinate of Durham by the King's Receiver whenever the temporalities were in the King's hands, and identification of several groups of *sede vacante* coins ; and (7) Separation of the coins of Edward I. and Edward II. The lecturer explained that it would be some time before all the above matters could be treated in detail in the Society's *Journal*, but, in collaboration with his brother, he hoped to contribute instalments from year to year.

Mr. Fox continuing his address, illustrated by drawings on the blackboard, the form of the crown on Plantagenet and the earliest Tudor coins.

Supplementary remarks and drawings were made by Mr. F. A. Walters.

RULES FOR THE JOHN SANFORD SALTUS MEDAL.

 HEREAS Mr. John Sanford Saltus, of Broadway, New York, U.S.A., an original Member, and since January, 1910, a Vice-President of this Society, being desirous of encouraging its aims and objects, offered to found a gold medal, to be designed, struck, and awarded under the following Rules and Conditions, and for that purpose has deposited the sum of £200 in the hands of the President and Treasurer of the Society.

And whereas the said Rules and Conditions were on the 25th day of May, 1910, approved by the Council, and on the same day adopted by the Society in general meeting.

At the suggestion of the President, Mr. Carlyon-Britton, it was thought that the medal should be called and known as the John Sanford Saltus Medal in recognition of its founder. With this the Donor acquiesced, and the name was adopted by the Society.

At the same meetings the best thanks of the Council and of the Society were gratefully and unanimously accorded to Mr. Saltus for his generosity to it, and for his enterprise in the encouragement of the science of numismatics.

RULES AND CONDITIONS.

The Fund.

1. After deducting the cost of the preparation of the dies and of providing the medals hereinafter mentioned for the years 1910 and 1911, the surplus of the fund shall be invested in securities for the time being authorised by law for trust investments, in the names of the

President and Treasurer for the time being, or in those of two or more persons appointed by the Council as trustees thereof, and the income only of the fund shall be applied to the cost of providing and awarding the medals.

THE MEDAL.

The Design and Legend.

2. The obverse shall bear a device representing Britannia standing on the sea-shore and looking towards the British Dominions beyond the Seas, surrounded by the legend THE BRITISH NUMISMATIC SOCIETY.

The reverse shall bear the legend "THE JOHN SANFORD SALTUS TRIENNIAL MEDAL, awarded to..... by the vote of the members for contributions to the Society's publications" (the name of the recipient and date of the award being engraved in spaces left for that purpose).

3. In case such device and legend, other than the name of the Founder, shall from constitutional changes or other unforeseen circumstance become inappropriate or obsolete, they may be changed or varied within the spirit of the Founder's expressed intentions as aforesaid.



THE GOLD MEDAL.¹

The Issue and Award.

4. One medal struck in gold approximately of the value, including

¹ The Medal is the art of Mr. Frank Bowcher, and struck by Messrs. Spink and Son, Ltd., London.

the cost of production, of the then accumulated income of the fund shall be awarded every third year commencing with the year 1914.

5. A similar medal shall be provided out of the capital of the fund, and awarded in the year 1910.

6. A similar medal shall be provided in part out of the then accumulated income, and as to the balance out of the said capital, and awarded in the year 1911.

7. So far as is possible the said medals shall always be of uniform appearance and value, subject nevertheless to Rule 11.

8. The medal shall be awarded to the Member of the Society whose paper or papers appearing in the Society's publications shall receive the highest number of votes from the Members, as being in their opinion the best in the interest of numismatic science. A successful candidate shall not again be eligible for the award.

9. Clause II. of Chapter VI. of the Society's Rules shall, so far as it is applicable, be the method by which the ballot for the award shall be taken, and a printed form for this purpose shall accompany the voting papers which are there provided for the election of the President, Council, and Officers, and shall be returnable, counted, and adjudicated with them at the Anniversary Meeting in each year in which the medal is to be awarded. Such printed form shall contain the words "I award my vote to _____, as the author of the paper on _____ printed in the Society's publications," with a space left for the Member's signature, or in the case of a Corporate body or Institution, for that of an official thereof. It may also contain a list of the names of previous recipients and of any recent contributors who are then no longer Members of the Society, and therefore not eligible for the award, and advice may be offered by the Council to Members as to the spirit in which their votes should be given, namely, a reminder of the Donor's object in founding the medal, and that they should not be biassed by the presence or absence of plates or illustrations to the papers, for that is usually a matter within the discretion of the Editors. Nevertheless, such advice shall be general and impartial. Directions as to the method of voting may also be added.

10. No contributor who is not a Member of the Society when the

voting papers are prepared, and also when they are decided, shall be eligible for the award.

11. In the case of a paper by joint authors receiving the award, or of a tie between two or more authors, the medal may be jointly awarded to them ; or the Council then elected for the succeeding year may make such arrangement in rectitude as they may deem proper, and their decision shall be final.

12. In the case of more than one paper by the same author receiving votes, the votes accorded in respect of all such papers shall be credited to such author for the purpose of the award, but if he or she be the successful candidate, the paper which has received most of the votes shall be deemed to be that for which the medal is awarded.

13. Any canvassing by or on behalf of a candidate shall render his or her success inoperative, and the decision of the Council shall be absolute on this head, nor need they express any reasons therefor, but they may either award the medal to the author who shall have received the next highest number of votes, or reissue the voting papers including the name of the disqualified candidate in the list provided by Rule 9 of those ineligible for the award, and reconduct the ballot either then or in the following year, or make such other arrangements as may seem to them expedient.

14. In case there shall be any irregularity in the ballot, or in the preparation of the voting papers, or in case the author receiving the highest number of votes shall be ineligible, the same shall not annul the award unless the Council shall decide otherwise, and they may, if they think proper, in such case of disqualification award the medal to the author who shall have received the next highest number of votes ; but if they shall decide to so annul the award they may reissue the voting papers and reconduct the ballot either then or in the following year, or make such other arrangements as they may deem expedient.

15. The medal shall, if circumstances permit, be presented by the President or Chairman to the successful candidate in person at an Anniversary or Ordinary Meeting of the Society ; but in case the recipient cannot attend, the President or Chairman shall declare the presentation in his absence. In each case he shall use the formula :

“ You have been awarded the John Sanford Saltus Medal for the period 19 to 19 , by the vote of the Members of the British Numismatic Society, for your contributions to the Society’s publications.”

GENERAL.

16. The foregoing Rules shall, so far as is possible, evolve with and upon any constitutional changes in the Society and bind its successors, but in case any difficulty shall arise in the construction placed upon them or in their operation the ruling of the Council shall determine the same.

The British Numismatic Society.

PATRON: HIS MAJESTY KING GEORGE V.

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HER MAJESTY THE QUEEN.
HER MAJESTY QUEEN ALEXANDRA.
HER ROYAL HIGHNESS THE PRINCESS CHRISTIAN.
HER ROYAL HIGHNESS THE PRINCESS HENRY OF BATTENBERG.

In Alphabetical Order.

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HER MAJESTY THE QUEEN OF THE BELGIANS.
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HER MAJESTY THE QUEEN OF DENMARK.
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HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS THE PRINCE ROYAL OF THE HELLENES.
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*The sign * signifies that the member has compounded for his annual subscription.*

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INDEX.

A.

Abeelee, Peter Van, medallist, 201, 203, 204.
 Abercromby, Sir Ralph, medal commemorating death of, 372, 374.
 Aelfred, coin of, 23.
 Aelfwald II., find of stycas of, at York, 331, 332.
 Aethelred II., coin of, erroneously attributed to Sandwich, 20.
 „ „ coins of, 9, 18, 20.
 Æthelred II. of Northumbria, find of stycas of, at Castleton, Derbyshire, 333.
 „ „ stycas of, at Hexham, 334.
 „ „ „ „ „ Kirk Oswald, 334.
 „ „ „ „ „ Ulleskelf, 334.
 „ „ „ „ „ York, 331, 334.
 „ „ „ „ „ near Dove Point, Cheshire, 332.
 „ „ moneyers of, in the York find, 332.
 Aethelstan, coin of, erroneously ascribed to Canterbury, 5.
 „ coins of, 5, 15, 23.
 „ Dorobernia = Canterbury until and during the reign of, 5.
 „ the laws of, 5, 6, 15.
 Afghanistan medals, 339, 370.
 Africa, General Service medal, 371.
 „ „wampum” used in, 350.
 Ailesbury, Lord, extract from Memoirs of, 241, 248, 263.
 Alan, Earl of Richmond and Brittany, 75.
 Albemarle, William de, Earl of York, 62.
 Albert Medal for saving life at sea, 338.
 „ „ „ „ „ on land, 338.

Albuhera, battle of, gold medal for the, 336.
 Album illustrating a new method of mounting coins and medals exhibited, 379.
 Alcout, Richard, token of, 291.
 Aldcorne, Hary, Assay Master, 239.
 Alexander, Bishop of Lincoln, 54, 82, 392.
 „ arrest of, by Stephen, 54.
 „ charter of grant to, 87.
 “Alfred the Great” on counterfeit halfpence of George III., 191.
 Algonquins, the use of “wampum” by the, 345.
 Ali Masjid, bar on Afghanistan medal, 370.
 Alion de Aste, Hubert, Master Moneyer to Edward I., 101, 134.
 Allectus, coin of, 389.
 „ find of a coin of, at Dorchester, 389.
 Allen and Moore, medal of Shakespeare by, 187.
 Altrincham, Mayoral medal of, 364.
 Amalia, widow of Prince Frederic Henry, 206.
 America, badge of the Society of the Colonial Dames of, 381.
 „ United States of, coins of, 356.
 „ “wampum” the native substitute for currency in North, 341-350.
 Amice, daughter of Ralph de Guader, 87.
 Anchor on tokens, a rebus on the issuer's name, 302, 303.
 ANDREW, W. J., F.S.A. :—
 A remarkable hoard of silver pennies and halfpennies of the reign of Stephen found at Sheldon, Derbyshire, in 1867, 27-89, 391-393.

Andrew, W. J., exhibits by, 362.
 „ „ on the Viking Coinage in England, 384.
 Andrewes, Robert, token of, 318.
 Anglesey token, pattern in silver of, 364.
 Anglo-Saxon coins found in the House of the Vestals, Rome, 5.
 Anlaf, coins of, 381.
 Anne, coin of, 364.
 „ medals of, 364.
 „ metal gilt seal with portrait of, 356.
 „ portrait of, by Obrisset, 358-368.
 Annulet, a symbol of an ecclesiastical mint, 52, 56, 57, 392.
 „ on the king's breast, on coins of Edward I., 108.
 „ symbol, coins with the, those of William Cumin, Bishop of Durham, 48.
 Anselm, Archbishop of Canterbury, 21.
 Anston, token formerly attributed to Paston (near Peterborough), now allocated to, 313.
 Anti-Jacobites, doggerel sung by the, on the accession of William of Orange, 200.
 Antoinette, Marie, token with busts of Louis XVI. and, 387.
 Antoninus Pius, second brass of, with reverse type Britannia, found at Croydon, 382.
 Arctic medal of Victoria, 364, 365.
 Arizona, "wampum" used by the tribes in, 343, 346.
 Arms or badges on coins *temp.* Stephen, 68, 392.
 Arondeaux, Regnier, the medallist, 241, 251, 267.
 Arthur, Sir George, and the Revolution of 1688, 213.
 Ashanti medal, 371.
 Ashbourne portrait of Shakespeare, the, 172.
 Ashby Mears for Mears Ashby, 284.
 Assays of the coinage of Edward I., 100, 122, 134.
 Atholl, Duke of, plaque of Charles II. in possession of, 257, 258.
Atlas of Europe, A Literary and Historical, presented, 389.
 Audley, John, token of, 306.
 Austin, Mathew, tokens of, 306.
 Australia, coins of the Commonwealth of, 375, 383.

Awlcoat, William, or Alcout, 292.
 Azoff clasp on Crimea medal, 370.

B.

Badge, issued by the Loyal Association, in favour of the Hanoverian claims, 395, 396.
 Badges or armorial bearings on coins *temp.* Stephen, 68 *et seq.*, 392.
 Baldwin, A. H., coins of, 233, 235.
 „ „ exhibits by, 362, 370-372, 383.
 „ P. J. D., donation of book by, 389.
 Bar or wedge, on coins of Stephen, 55-56.
 Barclay, his plot to assassinate William III., 261.
 Barnes, A. W., coins of, 127.
 „ „ token of, 313.
 Barnet, W., medal of Shakespeare, by, 186.
 Barre, F., medals of Shakespeare, by, 186, 187.
 Bath, badge of a Companion of the Order, 336.
 Battlefields Commission, The National, donation of medal by, 378.
 Beaufoy Medal of Shakespeare, 188, 190.
 Beaumont, Robert de, Earl of Leicester, 87.
 Bedford, a mint of Matilda, 81.
 Bek, Bishop Antony, type issued by, 91, 93, 94.
 Bell, J., medal of Shakespeare, by, 188, 376.
 „ John, on the Stratford Monument to Shakespeare, 162.
 Belliken, Cornelis, engraver, 210.
 Bentinck, William, Earl of Portland, 249.
 „ „ „ „ letter to, 227.
 Bernard, Dr. Edward, the astronomer, 314.
 Berney-Ficklin, Mr., plaque of Charles II. in possession of, 257, 258.
 Betterton, the player, 149.
 Bezants, three, the badge of the House of Boulogne, 76.
 Bible generally used as a sign by booksellers, 320.
 Bigod, Earl, 31.

Bigod, Earl of Norfolk, 75, 77-79.
 „ „ „ coins bearing the badge of, 77, 392.
 „ Roger, 68.
 Bilney, Roger de, Moulton Manor granted to, 285.
 Bird street token, 299.
 Birmingham tokens unpublished, 387.
Birmingham Workhouse Halfcrowns, 390.
 "Blake" medal, the, 335.
 Blooteling, Abraham, painter, 209.
 Bludwick, John, token of, 320.
 Bolton, Mathew, medals struck by, 337.
 „ „ pewter medal with clasp "Trafalgar" presented to seamen by, 338, 339.
 Boniface of Savoy, Archbishop, 96.
 Booksellers, Bible generally used as a sign by, 320.
 Borough had the privilege of a mint in Saxon times, every, 29.
 Boskam, Jan, medallist, 222, 246, 251, 253.
 Boulogne, coins *temp.* Stephen bearing the badge of, 74, 75.
 Boulton, 372.
 „ Matthew, medal by, 186.
 Bousfield, Dr. Stanley, exhibits by, 372.
 Bowcher, Frank, designer of the John Sanford Saltus medal, 400, 408.
 „ „ medal of Shakespeare by, 182, 183, 190.
 Bower, George, medallist, 220, 221, 222, 223, 224, 229, 230, 231, 232, 234, 237, 260, 361, 362.
 „ „ remuneration paid to, 229, 230, 234.
 "Bowers Grizell," widow of George Bower, 230.
 Boydell's edition of Shakespeare, medal issued with, 186.
 Boyne, Battle of the, medal to commemorate the, 223, 241.
 Brazil, "wampum" used in, 349, 350.
 Brimpsfield, Gloucestershire, find of a denier of Cambrai at, 385.
 Bristol coins of Stephen, obverse legends erased on the, 73.
 „ Corporation, coins of the, 390.
 „ light halfpenny of Henry VI., 394.
 „ Matilda's first type issued at, 81.

VOL. VII.

Bristol mint of Matilda, 42, 81.
 „ „ Edward I., 91, 111, 113, 115, 118, 119, 123, 124, 125, 137.
 British coins, ancient, probably issued in Canterbury, 4, 5.
 „ Colonisation medal of Charles II., 363, 364.
 „ gold stater, found near Maldon, Essex, 382.
 „ quarter stater, found at Colchester, 372.
 "Britons Glory" on counterfeit halfpence of George III., 192.
 Browning, Nath., token of, 306.
 Browne, Jane, tokens of, 279.
 Browning, John, token of, 282.
 Brunner, Martin, 265, 266.
 Bryn, Peverel's castle of, 61, 62, 63.
 Bungay, the seat of Hugh Bigod, 78.
 Burbage, Richard, Chandos portrait said to be the work of, 147.
 „ Richard, Felton, painting possibly the work of, 170.
 Burghesh, Henry, Bishop of Lincoln, 278.
 Burgis, John, token of, 278.
 Burma-bars on I.G.S. medal, 370.
 Burmese War Medal, 371, 372.
 Burnedissee, John de, the moneyer, 94, 95, 129.
 Burnet, Bishop of Salisbury, 247-252.
 Burstal, E. K., exhibits by, 389.
 Burton, Richard, token of, 320.
 Butler, John, token of, 321.
 Buxton tokens, 390.
 Bygod, Sir Roger, 308.

C.

C and T, similarity of the letters, in the rustic hand, 384.
 Caentwaraburh=Canterbury in reign of Eadgar, 5.
Cair Lerion=Leicester, 23.
 California, "wampum" used by the tribes in, 343, 349.
 Cambio, Philip de, moneyer, 95, 129.
 Cambrai, a denier of, found at Brimpsfield, Gloucestershire, 385.
 Cambridge University, students from, remove to Northampton, 288.
 Campbell family, manufacturers of "wampum," 347.

2 F

- Camville, the family of, 281.
 Canterbury mint of Aethelstan, 5.
 " " " Ecgbeorht, 5.
 " " " William I. and II., 4-9.
 " " " Stephen, 29, 31, 44, 45.
 " " " Matilda, 81.
 " " " Edward I., 91, 95-97, 98, 100, 102, 103, 108, 111, 113, 115, 118, 123, 124, 129, 135, 137.
 Cape May manufactory of "wampum," 346.
 Carausius with Maximian and Diocletian, the conjoined busts of, 214.
 Cardross, Lord, "Generall" of the Mint, 239.
 Carlisle, city of, confirmed by Stephen to Prince Henry, 58.
 " mint, insurgent money *temp.* Stephen of, 57-59.
 " " of Stephen, 29, 31, 57.
 " " " David I., 49, 50, 51.
 " silver mines near, 51.
 CARLYON-BRITTON, P. W. P., *President*:—
 A Numismatic History of the Reigns of William I. and II. (1066-1100). Part II.
 The History of the Mints (*contd.*), 1-25.
 Carlyon-Britton, P. W. P., on Borough Mints, 29.
 " " " on muled coins, 40, 41.
 " " " on the Winchcombe Mint, 383, 384.
 " " " coins of, 2, 3, 4, 6, 7, 8, 9, 11, 12, 14, 15, 17, 18, 19, 20, 22, 23, 24, 25, 39, 50, 51, 65, 74, 75.
 " " " The John Sanford Saltus gold medal awarded to, 403.
 Carter, Dr. Ernest C., exhibits by, 385, 386.
 Cary, Dr. William, 314.
 Caryer, 321.
 " Robert, tokens of, 321.
 Castello, Bartholomew de, accounts rendered by, 92.
 " " " Keeper of the King's exchanges of London and Canterbury, 92, 93, 95, 96, 102, 128, 129, 130.
 Castlehead, find of stycas at, 332.
 Castleton, Derbyshire, find of stycas of Aethelred II. at, 333.
 Cat—on some unpublished mules of tokens, 386, 387.
 Cavalli, Gian Marco, pattern testoon by, 214.
 Cawthorne, John, token of, 322.
 Ceulen, Cornelis Jansen van, the painter, 202, 203, 204.
 Ceylon, coins of, 375.
 Champlain, medal by, 378.
 Chandler, Edmund, token of, 281, 282.
 Chandos portrait of Shakespeare, 146, 147-150 *et seq.*
 Chantrey, Sir Francis, on the Stratford Monument to Shakespeare, 162.
 Charles I. and Henrietta Maria, counters of, 215.
 " badges of, 369.
 " box with embossed portrait of, by J. Jackson, 362.
 " coins of, 52, 363, 365, 366, 382.
 " clichés of, 255, 257, 258, 259.
 " find of coins *temp.*, in Lincolnshire, 365, 366.
 " Mary, eldest daughter of, 200, 201, 205.
 " medal of, 363.
 " obsidional coins of, with plate marks of the silver, 388.
 " sword *temp.*, with medallions of, etc., 362.
 " II., badge given by, to Richard Penderel, 358, 368.
 " bronze gilt statuette of, 362.
 " coin of, 364.
 " embarks for England from Scheveningen, 204.
 " medals of, 204, 258, 363, 364.
 " miniature of, 362.

- Charles II., plaque of, 257, 258.
 „ and King's Sutton, 281.
 Chatsworth, hoard of coins *temp.* Stephen, preserved at, 27.
 Cheshire, seal of the County of, 226.
 Chester mint of William II., 25.
 „ „ Stephen, 29, 31, 33.
 „ „ Edward I., 91, 123, 124, 125.
 „ le-Street, translation of see of St. Cuthbert to, 384.
 „ „ coins of, 384.
 „ „ mint of *temp.* Alfred, 384.
 Chettle, John, token of, 271, 272.
 Chettle, Henry, token of, 272.
 Chevalier, Nicholas, medallist, 208, 209.
 Chichele, Archbishop, 271.
 China medal, 371.
 Church, William, token of, 269, 270.
 Cinque Ports, the, 9, 18.
 Clark, James, engraver of the Scottish mint, 239, 240.
 "Claudius Romanus" on counterfeit halfpence of George III., 191.
 Clichés of the Stuart sovereigns, 255 *et seq.*
 Clifford, Richard de, 96, 130.
 Clipped coin *temp.* Edward I., 98, 131, 132.
 Clipping, proclamation of Edward I. against, 103, 136.
 Cnut, coins of, 12, 13, 20, 381.
 „ Hiberno-Danish imitations of, 379.
 Cockney, the word, 78.
 Cœnwulf, Winchcombe, a residence of, 384.
 Coin weights and scales, 356.
 Coinage of England *temp.* Stephen, the, 29.
 Coins of Stephen, defaced, 67.
 Colchester, find of a British quarter stater at, 372.
 „ mint of Stephen, 31, 33.
 Coldwel, Henry, token of, 307.
 Colon : on coins of Matilda, 82 *et seq.*
 Colonial Auxiliary Forces, officers' decorations, 371.
 Commonwealth, Blake medal issued by the, 335.
 „ coins of the, 366, 367.
 Compton, Henry, Bishop of London, tutor to Mary and Anne, 207.
 "Conspicuous Gallantry" medal, 369, 370.
 Cooper, Edward, token of, 292.
 „ Thomas, tokens of, 294.
 Coorgs, medal issued to the, for their loyalty, 337.
 Copenhagen clasp on naval general service medal, 371.
 Copper coinage of William and Mary, complaints against the, 235, 236.
 Corbet, Andrew, etc., warrant to, for making tin money, 232, 233, 234.
 Cordwainers' Company, the arms of the, 328.
 "Cornette," the term, 252.
 Cornish tin mines, and the tin money of James II., 368.
 Coronation medals of James II., 358, 360, 362.
 „ „ William and Mary, 215, 221, 222, 223, 224, 231, 260.
 Corunna, medal with clasp for, 336, 337.
 "Cowries" as money, 341.
 Craft, William, enamelled portrait of James II. by, 362.
 Cricklade mint of Stephen, 52.
 Crimean medal, 339, 370.
 „ „ with name of ship, 370.
 Croker, the engraver, 240.
 Cromwell, forgery of coin of, 363.
 „ John de, 285.
 Cross, of Hugh Bigod, cut on coins of Stephen, 76, 77, 392.
 „ Calvary—the badge of the Peverels, 68 *et seq.*, 392.
 „ of Scandinavian origin in Shelford Church, 384.
 Crown from 12th century glass, 396.
 „ type of, on the early coins of Edward I., 106.
 Croydon, find of Second Brass of Antoninus Pius at, 382.
 Crozier-symbol of an ecclesiastical mint, 51, 52.
 Cumin, William, Bishop Elect of Durham, 47, 48, 56.
 „ „ coins of, 48, 49.
 „ „ rebus of, 49, 50.
 Cummin, sprig of, on coins *temp.* Stephen, 50.
 CVNET TI = CVNEC CI = *Cuneca-Civitas*, 384.
 „ „ the legend on the Viking coinage, 384.

Cut halfpence and farthings so issued from the mint, 29, 99, 391.
 „ halfpennies *temp.* Stephen, 37, 44, 60, 70, 71, 75, 79.

D.

Dacre, Lord, 284.
 Dalton, R., donation of book by, 378.
 Danes, coin struck by the, at Leicester, 24.
 Danish Settlement, the Five Boroughs of the, 23.
 Danyell, Robert, token of, 322.
 Dartford, find of coins *temp.* Stephen at, 50, 54, 55, 66, 74.
 „ hoard, probable date of deposit of the, 54.
 Dassier medal of James II. by, 362.
 „ „ „ Shakespeare by, 184, 185, 190, 376.
 Davenant, Sir William, poet and playwright, 149, 150, 151.
 Davenport, Col. (?), sword of, 362.
 David I., of Scotland, 45, 46, 48, 57, 58, 391.
 „ „ „ „ coin of, with rebus of William Cumin, 50.
 „ „ „ „ coins of, 46, 50, 51.
 „ „ „ „ coins of, circulated across the Border, 46.
 „ „ „ „ defeated at the Battle of the Standard, 58, 391.
 „ „ „ „ holding of, 285.
DE for **ON** on coins of Matilda, 82.
 Death mask of Shakespeare, 160.
 "Defence of Legations" clasp on China medal, 371.
 D'Este, Mary, 212.
 De Grantmesnil, Hugh, holdings of, 281.
 De Gretemaisnil, Hugh, 24.
 De la Mare, Peter, Keeper of the Exchange of Bristol, 124, 125.
 De Medici, Marie, busts on coins of Henri IV. and, 214, 215.
 De Montfort, Hugh, 13.
 De Vere family, 282.
 De Witt, the Grand Pensionary, 213.
 Delhi Durbar medal, 371.

Denarii, the term, 126.
 Denholme, William, of Westshiells, master of the mint of Scotland, 239.
 Derby, coins of Stephen of, 41, 71.
 „ mint of Aethelstan, 23.
 „ Robert de Ferrers, Earl of, 62, 63.
 „ one of the Five Boroughs of the Danish Settlement, 23.
 „ mint of Robert Ferrers, second Earl of Derby, 71.
 Desboeufs, medal of Shakespeare by, 186.
 Devonshire, coins of Stephen in the possession of the Duke of, 27, 391.
 Die sinkers and their legends, illiterate, 59.
 Dies for coins and their origin, 39.
 Digge, John, and the dies of Canterbury mint, 96, 97, 129, 130.
 Dillingham, Tho., tokens of, 323.
 Distinguished conduct in the field medal, 370, 371.
 Domesday Book contains no reference to the mint at Canterbury, 5.
 „ „ numismatic references to Huntingdon in, 2.
 Donations to the Society of—
 The permanent foundation of a gold medal to be awarded triennially for the best paper published in the *Journal*, by—
 John Sanford Saltus, 378.
 A badge of the Society of the Colonial Dames of America by—
 John Sanford Saltus, 381.
 Books by—
 P. J. D. Baldwin, 389.
 R. Dalton, 378.
 B. Roth, 389.
 S. M. Spink, 389.
 A camera by—
 Fleet-Surgeon A. E. Weightman, R.N., 381, 400.
 A medal in commemoration of the Founding of Quebec by Champlain, by—
 The National Battlefields Commission, 378.
 Numismatic lantern slides by—
 Miss Helen Farquhar, 356, 400.
 Dr. Philip Nelson, 381, 400.
 Plaster casts by—
 S. M. Spink, 389, 394.
 Towards a fund for lantern slides by—
 Miss Helen Farquhar, 381.

DŌR LIVĪT, coins reading, erroneously assigned to Dorchester, 5.

Dorchester, coins reading, **DŌR LIVĪT** erroneously assigned to, 5.

„ find of a coin of Allectus at, 389.

„ Lady and the “beauty” series at Hampton Court, 250.

„ ticket, a, 379.

„ Oxon, Leicester the see of a bishop until its transfer to, 23.

Dorobernia = Canterbury until and during the reign of Æthelstan, 5.

Dove Point, Cheshire, find of stycas at, 332.

Dover, Domesday account of, 10.

„ early history of, 9, 10.

„ mint established in reign of Æthelred II., 9.

„ „ of William I., 17.

„ „ „ „ I. and II., 9–12.

„ Odo, Governor of the Castle of, 269.

„ the Conqueror marches on, 10.

Draughtsman of William and Mary, 265.

Droeshout, Martin, engraving of Shakespeare by, 146, 151, 152, 166, 170, 171, 176, 177, 181, 185, 187, 189, 377.

„ „ the engraver's uncle, painting of Shakespeare by, 152.

Dublin, medals of William III., 223, 241, 261.

Dugdale, illustration by, of Shakespeare's Monument, 157, 158.

Dumfries, find of coins *temp.* Edward I. at, 115.

Dunbar medal, 373.

Dupré, Guillaume, portraits of Henri IV. and Marie de Medici by, 214, 215.

Durham, Bishop of, *temp.* Stephen, coins of the 47–51.

„ mint of Stephen, 29, 47–51.

„ „ „ Edward I., 91, 93, 94, 103, 110, 111, 113, 115, 118, 121, 122, 124, 128, 136.

Durham, mint of Edward I., date of the coin of, Type I. of the, 94, 128.

„ „ „ the Edwards, 405.

„ „ „ Henry VIII., 379.

„ treaty of, *temp.* Stephen, 62.

E.

Eadgar, Caentwaraburh = Canterbury, in reign of, 5.

„ coins of, 13, 15, 23, 24.

Eadred, coins of, 2.

Eadweard reduces the burgh at Huntingdon, 1.

Eadwig, coins of, 1, 2.

Eanbald, find of stycas of, at Hexham, 333, 334.

„ „ „ „ „ „ Kirk Oswald,

334.

„ „ „ „ „ „ at Ulleskelf,

334.

„ „ „ „ „ „ York,

334.

„ rarity of stycas of, 333, 334.

Eanred, find of stycas of, at Hexham, 334.

„ „ „ „ „ „ Kirk Oswald,

334.

„ „ „ „ „ „ Ulleskelf,

334.

„ „ „ „ „ „ York,

331, 334.

„ moneyers of, in the York find,

332.

Eardwulf, find of stycas of, at York, 331.

„ moneyers of, in the York find, 332.

East India Company, medals issued by the Honourable, 337.

Eaton, John, token of, 307.

Ecclesiastical issuers, coinage of, and their symbols, 47.

„ „ found with the Sheldon hoard, 45–57.

„ mints of Edward I., 91,

93, 94, 102, 103,

108, 110, 113, 115,

118, 119, 121, 124,

129, 136.

„ „ symbols of, 51, 52.

- Ecgbearht, coins of, were issued at Canterbury, 5.
 „ find of a silver styca of, at Alton, Lincolnshire, 332.
 Ecton, George, token of, 295.
 Edgar, charter of, and the mint of Peterborough Abbey, 55.
 Edge Hill medal, 373.
 „ „ English cavalry at, 362.
 Edward the Confessor and the borough of Sandwich, 21.
 „ „ coins of, 9, 13, 18, 20, 21, 396.
 „ „ find of coins of, at Dymchurch in Romney Marsh, 18.
 „ „ Northampton mint established *temp.*, 288.
 „ „ Northampton *temp.*, 287.
 „ I., amount coined in reign of, 357.
 „ „ changes in the new money of, 99, 100, 132, 133.
 „ „ coins of, 93 *et seq.*
 „ „ „ bear Henry III.'s name, 93, 357.
 „ „ farthings of, 104, 113, 119, 122, 124, 357.
 „ „ find of coins *temp.*, at Dumfries, 115.
 „ „ „ „ *temp.*, at Montrave, 108.
 „ „ „ „ *temp.*, at Northampton, 106.
 „ „ history of new money of, 405.
 „ „ issue of round farthings of, 405.
 „ „ long cross coinage of, 92-111, 357, 405.
 „ „ the groats of, 109 *et seq.*, 112, 119, 125, 126, 127, 137, 138, 357, 405.
 „ „ names of the moneyer discontinued on coins of, 107.
 „ „ to Richard III., accounts of all the money coined at London and Canterbury from, 357.
 „ „ weight and standard of the new coins of, 100-105.
 Edward I., II., and III., Numismatic History of the reigns of (*contd.*), 91-142, 357.
 „ III. and Mortimer's Hole at Nottingham, 65.
 „ „ coins sometimes attributed to, now allocated to Edward I., 105, 106.
 „ „ coins of, 373.
 „ V., records showing amount coined by, 357.
 „ VII., Australian coins of, 375, 383.
 „ „ Ceylon coins of, 375.
 „ „ Jersey coins of, 375.
 „ „ memorial medal of, 378.
 „ „ Nigerian coins of, 379.
 Egypt and Soudan medal, 339.
 „ clasp on naval general service medal, 371.
 Elizabeth, coins of, 375, 376, 396.
 Ellesmere, Peverel's castle of, 61, 62, 63.
 Ellis, Col., coins of, 379.
 Eric, coins of, 381.
 Eugenius, Pope, grants a mint at Stamford-(Baron) to Abbot Martin, 316.
 Eustace, Earl of Boulogne, 76.
 „ Fitz John, Latin inscriptions on coins of, 82.
 Evans, the late Sir John, and the coins of Matilda, 84.
 Evelyn, the diarist, 201, 202, 247.
 Evomy, Tho., brass ticket for, 379.
 Exeter, Bishop of, *temp.* Stephen, coins of the, 51-53.
 „ mint of William I., 6.
 „ „ „ Stephen, 31, 33, 51, 52, 53.
 „ „ „ Edward I., 91.
 „ „ „ Charles I., 52.
 Exhibits. See names of exhibitors.
- F.
- Faber, John, Jun., engraver, 250.
 Faes, Peter van der, see Lely, 210.
 Faithorne, engraving of Shakespeare by, 152.
 FARQUHAR, MISS HELEN:—
 Portraiture of our Stuart Monarchs on their coins and medals, Part III, William and Mary, 199-267.

Farquhar, Miss Helen, donations of lantern slides and to the fund by, 356, 381, 400.
 „ (Miss Helen) exhibits by, 358, 369, 373, 381.
 „ „ „ on the portraiture of James II., 368.
 „ „ „ on the Stuart badges as military rewards, 373.
 Farthings, issue of round, 99, 100, 405.
 „ of sterling silver, 122 *et seq.*, 357.
 „ *temp.* Edward I., number of, to be made from the pound tower, 101, 112, 137, 138.
 „ „ Edward I., weight of, 101, 104, 122.
 Fees of mint officials, 102, 122, 123, 141, 142.
Felicitas Britannie medal, the, 258.
 Felton portrait of Shakespeare, the, 170, 172, 177.
 Fentiman, Harry (for S. M. Spink), exhibits by, 358-362.
 Fenwick, Sir John, 264.
 „ „ executed, 261.
 Ferara, Andria, sword *temp.* Charles I., with blade by, 362.
 Ferdinand and Isabella, the face to face busts on coins of, 213
Ferlingi, the term, 126.
 Ferrers, Robert, 270.
 „ „ de, Earl of Derby, 62, 63.
 „ „ second Earl of Derby, coin of, 71.
 „ William, Earl of Derby, 270.
 Filbrigg, notes on the family of, 308, 309.
 „ Will., tokens of, 307, 308.
 Find of a single coin of—
 Allectus, at Dorchester, 389.
 British gold stater near Maldon, Essex, 382.
 „ quarter stater at Colchester, 372.
 Denier of Cambrai, at Brimpsfield, Gloucestershire, 385.
 Silver styca of Ecgberht, at Alton, Lincolnshire, 332.

Finds of coins :—

Anglo-Saxon, at Rome, 5.
 Second brass of Antoninus Pius, at Croydon, 382.
 Stycas, at Castlehead, 332.
 „ „ Grange over Sands, 332.
 „ „ Hexham, 333, 334.
 „ „ Kirk Oswald, 334.
 „ „ Ribchester, 332.
 „ „ Ulleskelf, 334.
 „ „ York in 1842, 331-334.
 „ near Dover Point, Cheshire, 332.
 „ of Aethelred II., at Castleton, Derbyshire, 333.
Temp. Edward the Confessor, Harold II., and William I., at Dymchurch in Romney Marsh, 18.
 „ William I., at Beaworth, 4, 7, 8, 11, 14, 17, 19, 22, 25, 39.
 „ „ „ „ St. Mary Hill Church, 6.
 „ „ „ „ York, 3, 6, 25.
 „ „ „ „ and II., at Tamworth, 8, 11, 17, 23, 25.
 „ Henry I., at Sheldon, 30.
 „ Stephen at Dartford, 50, 54, 55, 66, 74.
 „ „ „ Linton, 44.
 „ „ „ Nottingham, 42, 47, 48, 55, 65, 66, 69, 70, 71, 73, 77, 89, 389.
 „ Edward I., at Dumfries, 115.
 „ „ „ „ Montrave, 108.
 „ „ „ „ Northampton, 106.
 „ Charles I., in Lincolnshire, 365, 366.
Find of silver pennies and halfpennies of the reign of Stephen at Sheldon, Derbyshire, in 1867, 27-89, 391-393.
 Fiscal, reasons for change of type of coins were, 39, 392, 393.
 Fitch, Oswald, exhibits by, 378, 389.
 Fitz-Otho family, hereditary engravers of the dies *temp.* Henry III. and Edward I., 96, 107, 110, 111, 136.
 Fitz-Warine, William, 285.
 Fitz-William Museum, Cambridge, coins in the, 4, 9.
 Fitzwilliam, Ralph, 284.
 Five Boroughs of the Danish Settlement, the, 23.

- Flandrensis, Walter, 282.
 Fletcher, L. L., exhibits by, 374, 377.
 Fontange, Marie de, 252.
 "Fontange," the term, 252.
 Fore Street, London, stycas in lead, alleged to have been found in, 333.
 "Forlorn Hope," medal, 373.
 Forty-Third Foot (Monmouthshire Light Infantry), medals of the, 369.
 Fosse Road, the, 86.
 Fotheringay Castle, demolition of, 305.
 Fox, H. B. EARLE and SHIRLEY:—
 Numismatic History of the Reigns of Edward I., II., and III. (*contd.*), 91–142, 357.
 Fox, H. B. Earle, and the work of the Research Committee, 405.
 "Shirley, address by, on the work of the Research Committee, 405.
 " " reference to the paper by, on *Die Making in the Twelfth Century*, 40.
 "John, token of, 275.
 Freer, Major W. J., exhibits by, 369, 373, 374, 375, 378.
 " " paper read by, on the history of war medals, as illustrated by those awarded to the old 43rd Foot and Monmouthshire Light Infantry, 373.
 French, John, token of, 323.
 Friends, the Society of, in Philadelphia, medal issued by the, 335, 336.
 Fulcher, 282.
 Fulham, Scandinavian dock and defensive trenches at, 384.
 Funeral effigies in Westminster Abbey, 211.
 Furness, W. R., composite portrait of Shakespeare by, 177.
- G.
- Galgani, Boniface, assayer, 101, 134.
 Garrick's Stratford Jubilee medal of Shakespeare, 185, 186.
 Garside, H., exhibits by, 356, 375, 379, 383, 394, 395.
 Gaywood, engraver to Dugdale, 158.
 Geoffrey, Bishop of Durham, 47.
 "George Inn," Northampton, token of the, 299.
 "George, King of England and Margarita," Italian box with portraits inscribed, 362.
 George II., coins of, 364.
 " " medal of, and the Indian tribes, 335, 336.
 "III., counterfeit halfpence of, 191.
 "IV., coins of, 364.
 "V., H.M. King, consents to become a Patron of the Society, 380, 381, 397.
 Ghuznee, capture of, medal, 370.
 Giffard family, Brimpsfield Castle and the, 385.
 Glass beads, in place of wampum, 348.
 "painted, found with the hoard of Stephen's coins at Sheldon, 28, 391.
 Globe Theatre in Southwark, 156.
 Gloucester, Duke of, 262.
 "mint of Edward the Confessor, 396.
 " " Stephen, 31, 34, 42, 52.
 "statutes of Edward I. at, 97, 130.
 Goat, Corporal William, Victoria Cross granted to, 338.
 "Godmanchester," coin erroneously attributed to, 20.
 Godmanchester, site of a Roman station, 1.
 Godolphin, Charles, etc., warrant to, for making tin-money, 232, 233.
 Godwine, Earl, 10.
 Googerat clasp on Punjab medal, 369.
 Goston, Mathew, token of, 284.
 Grandval, Barthélemy de, his plot to assassinate William III., 245, 246.
 Grange over Sands, find of stycas at, 332.
 Great Seals, the engraving of the, of William and Mary, 224.
 Greene, Shakespeare attacked by, in the *Groat's Worth of Wit*, 176.
 Greene, Sir Henry, 283, 285.
 Greenwich Hospital, dedicated by William III. in memory of Mary II., 254.
 "Gregory III." on counterfeit halfpence of George III., 191.
 Grey, Thomas, Marquis of Dorset, 269.
 Groat of Edward I., introduction of the, 99, 100.

Groat of Edward I., 99, 109 *et seq.*, 357, 405.
 Grove, Paul, token of, 285.
 Guader, Ralph de, 87.
 Gui d'Auvergne, 386.
 „ de Collemede, 386.
 „ „ Ventadour, 386.
 Gun money of James II., proofs of, 359, 360.
 „ „ probably struck by John Roettier's sons, 368.
 „ „ recalled by William III., 241.
 Guney's, Thomas de, King's Clerk, 125.
 "Gustavus Vasa" on counterfeit halfpence of George III., 191.
 Guy, Bishop of Cambrai, denier of, 385.
 Gwalior medal, 339.
 Gyantse clasp on Tibet medal, 371.

H.

H, revival of the old Saxon, on coins of Stephen, 55.
 H.P. on a Dorchester ticket, 379.
 Hadeleie, Robert de, 91, 103, 115, 116, 117, 118, 124, 138.
 Hague, The, medal of William III., 219, 220.
 Hair-dressing *temp.* William and Mary, 211, 251, 252.
 Hales, Sir Edward, 314.
 Halfpennies *temp.* Stephen, 27 *et seq.*
 „ „ Edward I., 100, 132.
 „ of Edward I., 110-12, 115, 119, 121, 122, 357.
 „ round, issued, 99, 100.
 „ bearing Shakespeare's head or name, 191, 192.
 Halfpenny of William I., cut, 19.
 Hallan, William, bust of, on token, 387.
 Halliwell-Phillipps's engraving of Shakespeare, 153.
 Hamer, S. H., exhibits by, 375, 377, 386, 387, 390.
 „ „ on the Birmingham Workhouse halfcrowns, 390.
 „ „ joint author of book on Eighteenth century tokens, 378.
 „ „ tokens of, 192.
 Hamerton, George, tokens of, 324.
 Hamilton, Lord George, created Earl of Orkney, 245.

Hampton Court Beauties, the, 250.
 „ „ Palace, alterations *temp.* William III. to, 267.
 "Hampton" = Northampton and Southampton, 288.
 Hancock, J. G., token by, with bust of Shakespeare, 192, 375.
 Hanneman, Adriaan, the painter, 202.
 Hanoverian claims, badge issued by the Loyal Association in favour of the, 395, 396.
 Hardy, Nicholas, token of, 324.
 Harold I., coins of, 13.
 „ II., coins of, 3, 15, 18, 24.
 „ „ find of coins of, at Dymchurch, 18.
 Harris, Henry, engraver—especially of seals, 225, 226, 227, 228, 230, 231, 234.
 „ „ remuneration paid to, 234.
 „ „ and the sons of John Roettier, arrangement between, 230.
 Harrow medal of Shakespeare, 189.
 Hartwell, history of, 269, 270.
 „ token of, 269.
 Harvey, Alce, token of, 324.
 Hastings, mint of Stephen, 34.
 Hauton, Lawrance, token of, 310.
 Hautsch, George, medallist, 208, 222.
 Haydenstane, John de, clerk of the Exchange, 101, 134.
 Hazara, bar on I.G.S. medal, 370.
 Hearne, Sir John, and the copper farthing of William and Mary, 235.
 Henri IV. and Marie de Medici, busts on coins of, 214, 215.
 "Henricus" types of Edward I., rarity of, 97.
 Henrietta Maria, counters of Charles I. and, 215.
 Henry, Bishop of Winchester, 48.
 „ Duke of Gloucester, 202.
 „ „ „ „ medal of, 201, 205.
 „ Prince, Earl of Huntingdon, 57, 58, 62.
 „ the Bishop, coins of, 51, 52, 84.
 Henry I., coins of, 22, 32, 33.
 „ „ disinherited his daughter the Empress, Hugh Bigod affirms, 77.
 „ „ find of coins of, at Sheldon, 30.

- Henry I., obverse of coin of, imitated for Matilda's obverse design, 86.
- „ „ Sandwich mint of, 22.
- „ II. changes his money once during the reign, 42.
- „ -III., short cross pennies of, exhibited, 373.
- „ III., coins of Edward I. bearing the name of, 93, 96.
- „ „ gold penny of, 378.
- „ „ to Richard III., amount of bullion coined from, ascertained by Research Committee, 405.
- „ VI., coins of, 367, 394.
- „ „ light halfpenny of Bristol of, 394.
- „ VII., coin of, 367.
- „ VIII., coins of, 379.
- Hereford, coins of Stephen, obverse legends erased on the, 73.
- „ mint and Matilda, 43.
- Hereward attacks the monastery at Peterborough, 316.
- Hermon-Hodge, Sir Robert Trotter, political gold medal of, 383.
- Hertwell, John de, 269.
- Hervey, Major-General A., medals and decoration of, 369.
- Hexham, find of stycas of Eanbald at, 333, 334.
- HEYWOOD, NATHAN:—
A parcel of stycas from the York find, 1842, 331-334.
- Heywood, Nathan, coins of, 127.
- Hiberno-Danish coinage imitated from the English, 379, 380.
- „ „ coins, 379.
- Higham Ferrers, history of, 270-274.
- „ „ tokens of, 271, 272, 273.
- Highland Society's Abercromby medal given to the Black Watch, 374.
- Hilton-Price, the late F. G., coins of, 6, 11.
- Historical Events as depicted on our coinage*, Dr. Philip Nelson's address on, 387, 388.
- Hitchins, Major (later Lieut.-General), medal awarded to, 372.
- „ Mrs., exhibits by, 372.
- Hoard of coins and their mints, 29.
- „ typical features of, 30.
- Hoare, James, etc., warrant to, for making Tin money, 232, 233.
- Hoath, find of stycas of, at York, 331.
- „ moneyer of, in the York find, 332.
- Hoblyn, R. A., coins of the late, 233.
- Hocking, W. J., information from, concerning George Bower, 229, 230.
- Holland, medal to celebrate William III.'s departure from, 223.
- Hollar, engraver to Dugdale, 158.
- Honduras, British coins of, 356.
- Honthorst, Gerard van, artist, 201.
- Horn medallion by Obrisset, 259.
- Howard, Sir John, entry in steward's accounts of, 284.
- Hull, William, token of, 310.
- Hunt and Roskell's medal of Shakespeare, 188.
- „ Mathew, token of, 310.
- Huntingdon, coins erroneously attributed to, 3.
- „ Domesday account of, 2.
- „ Eadward reduces the burgh at, 1.
- „ mint of Eadwig, 1, 2.
- „ „ William I., 3, 4.
- „ „ „ „ and II., 1-4.
- „ „ „ „ II., 4.
- Huntingdonshire mints of William I. and II., 1-4.
- Hyrstingestan hundred, 2.
- Hythe, charter of Henry II. to, 13.
- „ „ „ King John to, 13, 14.
- „ Domesday account of, 13, 14.
- „ mint of Edward the Confessor, 9, 12, 13.
- „ „ „ William I. and II., 12-15.
- „ probable transfer of Lymne mint to, 13.
- I.
- I.G.S. medals, 370.
- IMPERATR** for *Imperatricis*, see coins of Matilda, 81 *et seq.*
- India medals, 337, 371.
- „ Army of, medals, 339, 369, 370, 371.
- Indian tribes, medal of George II. and the, 335, 336.

Indian, wampum of the, 341, 343, 345, 347, 348.
 Ingham, William, 7th Foot, medal with 13 clasps granted to, 369.
 Ingram, T. W., medal of Shakespeare by, 187.
 Insula, Robert de, 94.
 Insurgent money of Stephen, 30, 31, 57-80.
 Ipswich, insurgent money, *temp.* Stephen, of, 73-76.
 „ mint of Stephen, 34, 68, 73.
 Ireland, medal of, 1690, 219.
Ireland, the Coins of the Danish Kings of, 380.
 Ireland, William III.'s attitude towards, 241.
 Irish money of William and Mary, 241.
 „ early types found with Saxon and Norman hoards, 30.
 Irons for dies supplied to Matilda's mints, 84.
 Isham family of Pynchley, 282.
 Ixworth. See "Brixworth," 274.

J.

Jackson, J., box with embossed portrait of Charles I., by, 362.
 James, birth of Prince, medal, 362.
 „ William, token of, 311.
 „ I., coins of, 394.
 „ „ omits numerals on his Scottish coins, 240.
 „ „ quarter-angel of, 394.
 „ II. and Prince James medal, 362.
 „ „ coins of, 358, 359, 360.
 „ „ clichés of 255, 257.
 „ „ enamelled portrait of, by William Craft, 362.
 „ „ gun money of, recalled by William III., 241.
 „ „ Jan Smeltzing, medallist to, 222.
 „ „ medals of, 358, 360, 361, 362.
 „ „ portraiture of, 368.
 „ „ the great seal of, 225, 227.
 „ „ vacates the English throne, 199.
 Jansen, Gerard, Stratford monument probably sculptured from life by, 156, *et seq.*

Janssen, Cornelius, 170, 171.
 „ or Somerset portrait of Shakespeare, 170, 171, 177, 189.
 Japanese medal awarded to British subject, 372.
 Jersey, coins of, 375.
 Jews, clipping of coins by the, *temp.* Edward I., 97-130.
 Jidballi clasp on Africa General service medal, 371.
 Jocus the goldsmith, 95, 129.
 Jonson, Ben, appreciation of Shakespeare by, 153, 154.
 Jubilee Medals of Shakespeare, 185, 187.
 Judd, Thomas, token of, 272.
 Jugate busts on coins, some examples of, 213, 214.

K.

K for R on coins of Scottish origin, 58.
 Keepers of the dies, duties of the, 98, 131.
 „ „ Exchange of Edward I., accounts of, 103, 106, 114, 123, 126, 142.
 „ „ Exchange, position and duties of, 102, 117, 134, 135.
 Kempe, Margret, tokens of, 325.
 Kent, mints of William I. and II., 4-23.
 „ Odo, Earl of, 16, 269.
 „ „ „ arrest of, 10.
 Kettering, Domesday account of, 275.
 „ history of, 274-278.
 „ tokens of, 275.
 Kilsby, history of, 278.
 „ token of, 278.
 Kilwardby, Robert de, Archbishop of Canterbury, 96.
 King's Cliffe, history of, 279-281.
 „ „ tokens of, 279.
 King's Sutton, history of, 281, 282.
 „ „ token of, 281, 282.
 Kingston-on-Hull, mint of Edward I., 91.
 Kirk Oswald, find of stycas at, 334.
 Kirkham, Walter de, Bishop of Durham, 94, 128.
 Kneller, Sir Godfrey, painter, 149, 210, 212, 249, 250, 252.
 Knowles, Mathew, token of, 325.
 Kuchler, C. H., medal by, 186.
 Kumassi clasp on Ashanti medal, 371.

L.

Labram, John, token of, 297.
 Ladds, John, tokens of, 275.
 "Lady of the English," Empress Matilda as, 42.
 Lamport, history of, 282.
 " tokens of, 282.
 Lanfranc, Archbishop of Canterbury, 21.
 Langham, Sir John, the charity of, 300.
 Latin inscriptions on Norman coins, 82.
 Laud, Archbishop, portrait of, on hilt of sword, 362.
 Laver, Henry, exhibits by, 382.
 " Philip, exhibits by, 372.
 Law, Thomas, epitaph on, 281.
 " tokens of, 280.
 Lawrence, L. A., coins of, 93, 127.
 " exhibits by, 356, 373, 381.
 Laxton, Sir William, and Oundle Hospital, 313.
 Lea, H. C., exhibits by, 369, 373.
 Leaden dish contains the Sheldon hoard of Stephen's coins, 28.
 Leicester, coin struck by the Danes at, 24.
 " Domesday account of, 24.
 " mint of Eadgar, 23.
 " William I. and II., 23-25.
 " Stephen, 31.
 " Matilda, 85, 86, 87, 88.
 " Robert, Earl of Gloucester, 88.
 " one of the Five Boroughs of the Danish Settlement, 23.
 " Regiment (the 17th), medals of the, exhibited, 370.
 " surrendered to Robert of Gloucester, 87.
 " the see of a bishop, until its transfer to Dorchester, 23.
 " within the See of Alexander, Bishop of Lincoln, 86.
 Leicestershire mints of William I. and II., 23-25.
 Lely, Sir Peter, painter, 209, 210, 249, 251, 373.
 Lenton Priory, Nottingham and the arms of the Peverels, 68.
 Leofric, Earl of Mercia, 278.
 Leopold II., H.M. the late King of the Belgians, death of, 397.

LICIRA CIVI on a coin of the Danes struck at Leicester, 24.
 Lincoln, Battle of, 54, 56, 62, 76, 78, 79, 80, 391.
 " overthrow of Stephen at, 42, 45.
 " Bishop of, coins of the, 47, 392.
 " temp. Stephen, coins of the, 53-55, 392.
 " ecclesiastical mint, temp. Stephen, coins of the, 53, 392.
 " (?) insurgent money, temp. Stephen, of, 79, 80, 392.
 " F. W., coins of, 127.
 " mint of Aelfred, 23.
 " Stephen, 31, 34, 53, 76, 79, 80, 84.
 " Matilda, 81, 83.
 " Edward I., 91, 118, 119, 123, 124, 125.
 " taken by the partisans of Matilda, 43, 82.
 " one of the Five Boroughs of the Danish Settlement, 23.
 " William de Roumare, Earl of, 63.
 Lincoln's Inn Fields, medal, 220, 221.
 Lincolnshire, find of coins temp. Charles I. in, 365, 366.
 Linton, find of coins temp. Stephen at, 44.
 Liverpool Museum, coins in the, 22.
 Lockett, R. Cyril, coins of, 12.
 London and Middlesex, tokens with head of Shakespeare, 192.
 " Charles I. grants the Manor of Moulton to the Corporation of, 286.
 " City of, School, medal of Shakespeare, 188, 190.
 " dies from the cuneator's office at, 39.
 " Highland Society to the Black Watch, puncheon for the die of the medal from the, 372.
 " Matilda at, 42, 43.
 " mint of Allectus, 389.
 " Henry I., 32, 33.
 " Stephen, 29, 31, 34, 35, 36, 37.
 " Matilda, 42, 81.

London, mint of Edward I., 91, 93, 98,
100, 103, 104, 105,
108, 111, 113, 115,
119, 123, 124, 126,
127, 137.
" " " Edward I., bullion coined
at the, 92, 93.
" " " " III., 373.
" " " Henry VIII., 379.
" return to, medal of Charles I.,
363.
Londriensis farthing of Edward I., 104.
Long-cross coinage, Edward I.'s, 92-111,
357.
" issue in 1247, 98.
Long Island, the Indians and wampum,
349.
Long service and good conduct medals,
370, 371.
Longbottom, F. W., coins of, 127.
Longespée, the family of, 281.
Louis XIV., 261.
" XVI. and Marie Antoinette, token
with busts of, 387.
Louisbourg, capture of, medal, 336, 370.
Lovelot, J. de, and the mint of St. Ed-
mund's, 117, 140.
Lowick, history of, 283.
" token of, 283.
Luda, William de, *temp.* Edward I.,
125.
Luder, Jan, medallist, 219, 222, 223, 241,
251, 254.
Lumley, portrait of Shakespeare, the, 172.
Lundreis, the term, 101, 133.
Luton Abbot, Simon de, 136.
Lutton, history of, 284.
" token of, 284.
Lydford, penny of Cnut allocated to, 12,
13.
Lymne mint of Eadgar, 13.
" " probable transfer of, to
Hythe, 13.
Lyons, Council of, 94.

M.

Maish, W. M., exhibits by, 367, 382.
Majuba Hill, medal granted for, 370.
Maldon, Essex, find of a British gold
stater near, 382.
Malone, Edmund, the critic, 162, 163.
Manisty, Jone, token of, 326.

Mares or Mareys, John de, 285.
Marlborough, cliché of the Duke of, 259.
Marshall, engraving of Shakespeare by,
152.
" Islands, wampum used in the,
349, 350.
" William, Crimea medal granted
to, 370.
Martinique, clasp for the capture of, 336.
Mary, busts on coins of Maximilian II.,
of Bohemia and his wife, 214.
" Philip and, pattern of, 215.
" Princess of Orange and her son,
1654, medal of, 203.
" " of Orange, medals of, 201,
205, 209.
" Queen of Scots, book formerly the
property of, at Stonyhurst
College, 331.
" Tudor and Philip II., the face to
face busts on coins of, 213, 215.
*Mary II., Portraiture on the coins and
medals of William and,*
199-267.
" " no musician, 266.
" " " patron of art, 249, 250.
" " character and personality of, 207
et seq.
" " extracts from diary of, 200, 242,
243, 244, 245, 246, 247.
" " her appreciation of art, 265,
266.
" " her interest in the currency,
267.
" " medals of, 216, 242, 243, 251,
252, 253, 254.
" " memorial medals of, 251, 252,
253, 254.
" " mezzotint of, 209.
" " plaques of, 257, 258, 259, 261,
262.
" " portraiture of, 208, 209, 210, 220,
221, 250.
" " silver gilt medallion of, 266.
" " medals of William and, 208, 209,
215, 220, 221, 222, 223.
Massingherd, Richard, the charity of, 300.
Matilda, the Empress, 48, 57, 64, 76, 78,
392.
" changes necessary when a royal
mint fell into the hands of, 84.
" period of the coinage of, 85.
" coins of, 34, 42, 43, 51, 81-88,
392, 393.

- Matilda, coins of, imitations of, and intended to pass as Stephen's coins, 42, 43, 85.
- „ concerning the portraits on coins of, 84.
- „ Sheldon hoard buried during the struggle between Stephen and, 30, 391-393.
- „ first type of, issued at Bristol, 81.
- „ probably brought over her French cuneators, 81.
- „ Sheldon hoard possibly deposited by some partisan of, 31.
- „ various mints fall into the hands of, 42, 43.
- „ of Boulogne, Queen of, Stephen, 57, 76.
- „ of Boulogne, Queen of, Stephen, money franked for, 76.
- Mauley, Daniel, token of, 311.
- Maundy money of William and Mary, 236, 237.
- Mauntell, Walter, 269.
- Maximilian I. and Bianca Maria Sforza, busts on coins of, 214.
- „ II. of Bohemia and his wife Mary, busts on coins of, 214.
- McGill College, Montreal, medal of Shakespeare, issued by the, 188.
- McHugh, Major R. J., exhibits by, 372.
- Mears Ashby, history of, 284, 285.
- „ „ token of, 285.
- Medal of the Society, see Saltus, J. S.
- “Medal,” “the 1911,” of Shakespeare, 182, 183, 190.
- Medallic memorials of Shakespeare, 184-190, 376, 377.
- Medals, notes on some interesting British, 335-339.
- Medeshamstede = Burgh = Peterborough, 275, 304, 315.
- Melville, Lord, Scottish Secretary of State, 239.
- Members of the Society, 413 *et seq.*
- Merlin, prophecy of, 99, 132.
- Mertona, Walter de, the Chancellor, 92.
- Metropolitan Police Coronation medal, 372.
- Meulan, Count of, 87.
- Military General Service medal, 369, 370.
- „ „ „ 1793-1840, medals for, 339.
- Militia, Long Service and Good Conduct medal, 372.
- Milton, John, extract from, on Shakespeare, 198.
- Mint in Saxon times, every borough had the privilege of a, 29.
- „ of William III., in 1689-90, the position of affairs in the, 224.
- Mints, average number of, in Saxon and Norman times, 29.
- Mints of William I. and II., The History of the (contd.)*, 1-25.
- Monckton, H. W., coins of, 22.
- Moneyers, duties of the master, 102, 135.
- Moneyer's name suppressed on coins of Edward I., 116.
- Moneyers' fees on receipt of new dies, 39.
- Monmouth and Argyle, medal commemorating the execution of, 362.
- Monmouthshire Light Infantry (43rd Foot), medals of the, 369.
- Montrave, find of coins, *temp.* Edward I., at, 108.
- Mooltan clasp on Punjab medal, 369.
- “Moons” of wampum, 347, 348.
- Moore, Allen and, medal of Shakespeare by, 187.
- „ J., medal of Shakespeare by, 189.
- Morrieson, Lieut.-Col. H. W., coins of, 4, 7, 127.
- „ „ „ „ exhibits by, 372, 387.
- Mortain, Stephen as Count of, 75.
- Mortimer, tokens of Francis, 326.
- “Mortimer's Hole,” Nottingham, the story of, 65.
- Moulton, history of, 285, 286.
- „ tokens of, 286.
- Mulberry tree, concerning the, at Stratford, 193.
- “Mule,” definition of, 38.
- “Muled” coins, cause and origin of, 38, 39, 392, 393.
- “Mules” of Stephen, 37-45, 392, 393.
- „ struck during the transition from one type to another, 38, 39 *et seq.*, 392, 393.
- „ of tokens, 386, 387.
- Mundene, Stephen de, engraver, 107, 136, 137.
- Murray, Sir Patrick, 239.
- “My Freedom I among slaves enjoy,” legend on tokens, 387.

- N.
- N, the peculiar form of the letter, on coins of Edward I., 109, 110, 115, 121.
- Nagpore clasp on Army of India medal, 369.
- Namur, medal of, 223.
- Natal Native Rebellion medal, 371.
- Naval General Service medals, 1793-1840, 338.
- " " " " 370, 371.
- " Gunnery medal, 372.
- " Long Service and Good Conduct medal, 372.
- " reward medals of James II., 362.
- Neale, Thomas, Master of the Mint, 228, 237.
- Needes, E. E., exhibits by, 369, 370.
- Negus, Gilbert, token of, 273.
- Nelson, Dr. Philip, donation of lantern slides by, 381, 400.
- " " " exhibits by, 396.
- " " " his address on *Historical Events as depicted on our Coinage*, 387, 388.
- " " " his report on the fragments of painted glass found with the hoard at Sheldon, 28.
- Nepaul clasp on Army of India medal, 369, 370, 371.
- Netscher, Caspar, painter, 250.
- " Constantine, painter, 250.
- " Theodore, painter, 250.
- Nevill, C. H., exhibits by, 362-364.
- New York to Brooklyn, ferriage from, payable in wampum, 350.
- " " wampum, 343, 346.
- New Zealand medals, 339.
- Newark, Lord, medals presented by, to commemorate the Notts Yeomanry, 336, 374.
- Newark, mint of Alexander, Bishop of Lincoln, *temp.* Stephen, 54, 82.
- " " " Stephen, 54.
- Newcastle, mint of Edward I., 91, 110, 120, 121, 122, 124, 125.
- Newman, Thomas, token of, 313.
- Nicole for Lincoln, 34.
- Nigel, Bishop of Ely, 54.
- Nigeria, coins of, 379.
- Nooth, Captain H., 14th Foot, medal presented to, 336, 337.
- " Lieut.-Col. John Mervin, decorations granted to, 336.
- "North Wales" on counterfeit halfpence of George III., 192.
- Northallerton, Battle of the Standard at, 62.
- Northampton, watch and ward at, 303, 304.
- " find of coins *temp.* Edward I. at, 106.
- " history of, 286-304.
- " mint established, 288.
- " " of William I., 288.
- " " Henry III., 288.
- " Stephen at, 43.
- " the glove industry of, 301.
- " " great fire at, 293, 296.
- " tokens of, 288, 289, 290, 291, 292, 294, 295, 297, 298, 299, 300, 302.
- " Town pieces of, 288, 289, 290.
- " University, rise and fall of, 288.
- Northamptonshire, Seventeenth Century tokens of (contd.)*, 269-330.
- Northumbria, the Danish coinage of, 381.
- Norwich, Bishop of, the mark of the, on Stephen's coins, 77, 392.
- " Hugh Bigod's badge on the coins of, 77, 79, 392.
- " mint of Stephen, 31, 36, 77, 79.
- Norwold, John de, 136.
- Nottingham Castle and William Peverel, 89.
- " Castle surrenders to Matilda, 87.
- " coins *temp.* Stephen defaced by William Peverel, 89, 391, 392.
- " find of coins *temp.* Stephen at, 42, 47, 48, 55, 65, 66, 69, 70, 71, 73, 77, 89, 389.
- " hoard of Stephen's coins, date of burial of, 42.
- " mint, insurgent money, *temp.* Stephen, of, 59-73, 391, 392.

Nottingham mint of Aethelstan, 23.
 " " " Stephen, 29, 31, 39,
 59, 60, 61, 66, 68,
 69, 70, 71.
 " " " Stephen, situation of,
 72.
 " " taken by the partisans
 of Matilda, 43.
 " one of the Five Boroughs of
 the Danish Settlement,
 23.
 " Peverel's money probably
 strictly local to, 73.
 " Troop of Yeomanry, medal
 struck on the disembodi-
 ment of the, 336, 374.
 " unusual quality of Stephen's
 first type issued at, 65.
 " William Peverel at Stephen's
 court at, 62.
 Nowers, John de, 283.

O.

Obrisset, 231, 259, 260.
 " portrait of Anne by, 358, 368.
 Obverse die, supplied after the reverse,
 on change of types, 40, 41.
 Odo, Bishop of Bayeux, 10, 16, 269.
 Officers and Council of the Society—Ses-
 sion 1910, 353, 354.
 Officers and Council of the Society—Ses-
 sion 1911, 403.
 OGDEN, W. SHARP:—
 Shakespeare's Portraiture: Painted,
 Graven, and Medallie, 143-198, 376,
 377.
 Ogden, W. Sharp, exhibits by, 375, 377.
 " " " medal of Shakespeare
 by, 182, 183, 190.
 " " " mezzotints from the
 collection of, 209,
 252.
 "Oliver Cromwell" on counterfeit half-
 pence of George III., 191.
 Order of Shakespearians, medal of the,
 186.
Orders of Knighthood and Decorations,
 1772-1846, *Description of*, General Sir
 George Murray, 389.
 Orland, James, Keeper of the Exchange
 of Durham, 120.

Osbercht, find of stycas of, at Kirk Oswald,
 334.
 " " " " " at Ulleskelf,
 334.
 " " " " " at York, 331,
 334.
 " moneyers of, in the York find,
 332.
 Oswald, James, 239.
 Oswi, King of Northumbria, and Peada
 found the Abbey of Peterborough, 315.
 Oundle, history of, 304-313.
 " tokens of, 305, 306, 307, 308,
 310, 311, 312.
 " town pieces of, 305.
 Overton, Peverel's castle of, 61, 62, 63.
 Owndell = Oundle, 306.
 Oxford, arrest of the Bishops at, *temp.*
 Stephen, 87.
 " Matilda at, 42.
 " mint of Stephen, 36.
 " " " Matilda, 81.
 " University, students from, re-
 move to Northampton, 288.

P.

P = W = Old Saxon *Hæn*, 49.
 Pack horse, significance of the sign, 284.
 Paganel, Ralph, 64.
 " William, defaces the Nottingham
 coins *temp.* Stephen, 89.
 " William, made warden of Not-
 tingham Castle by Matilda,
 64, 72.
 Page, S., exhibits by, 365-367.
 Pashler, John, token of, 312.
 Passe, Simon de, medallion by, 215.
 "Pattern" groat theory of Edward I.,
 arguments against the, 109 *et seq.*, 112,
 137, 138.
 Paulerspury, history of, 313-315.
 " token of, 314.
 Paveli, Robert de, 314.
Pax est Conclusa medal of William III.,
 260.
 Peada and Oswi found Peterborough
 Abbey, 315.
 Peak, William Peverel, Custodian of the
 Royal Forest of the, 61.
 Peckham, Archbishop, 102, 135, 136.
 Penda, 315.

Penderel, badge given by Charles II. to Richard, 358, 368.
 Penecestro, Stephen de, the Justice and the coinage, 97, 102, 103, 135, 136.
 Peninsular War medals, 369.
 Penny of Edward I., weight of the, 101, 104, 106.
 PERERIC, coins bearing the obverse legend, concerning the, 81 *et seq.*, 392.
 „ evolution of, from IMPERATR[ICIS], 83, 392.
 „ meaning of the word, 82 *et seq.*, 392.
 Peryn, John, tokens of, 286.
 Peterborough, history of, 315-330.
 „ bishopric of, 316.
 „ the Abbey of, founded, 315.
 „ the Abbot of, coins of, 47, 392.
 „ „ „ „ *temp.* Stephen, coins of, 55, 56, 392.
 „ tokens of, 316, 317, 318, 319, 320, 321, 322, 323, 324, 325, 326, 327, 328, 329.
 „ Town Pieces of, 316, 317.
 Peverel badge, on Stephen's coins, description of the four distinct varieties of, 68-71, 72, 392.
 „ William, and how he recovered his castle of Nottingham, 64, 65.
 „ „ Castellan of Nottingham, 43, 61 *et seq.*, 391.
 „ „ his defacement of Stephen's money, 66 *et seq.*, 392.
 „ „ made captive by Empress Matilda and deprived of his Castle of Nottingham, 64.
 „ „ released, 64.
 „ „ revolts from Stephen, 63, 391.
 „ „ slighted by Stephen, 62, 63.
 Peverel's money defaced by William Paganel, 73.
 „ „ strictly local to Nottingham, 73.

VOL. VII.

Pewter coins of James II., 360.
 „ medal and Trafalgar clasp, 338, 339.
 Philadelphia, medal issued by the Society of Friends in, 335, 336.
 Philip and Mary, busts on coins of, 215.
 „ „ „ pattern of, 215.
 „ the face to face busts on coins of, 213.
 Pidgeon, S. F., engraver, 372.
 Pinches, the late Mr. John, political medal with obverse design by, 383.
 Pintosh, H. Horsham, unpublished token reading, 387.
 "Pipes" of wampum, 347.
 Plague, outbreak of, at Peterborough, in 1666, 322, 323.
 Plaques of Stuart sovereigns, workmanship of certain, 255 *et seq.*
 Podio, Orlandinus de, Keeper of the King's Exchange, 98, 101, 107, 125, 130, 134.
 Police Ambulance Service Coronation medal, 372.
 Pontefract shilling, 363.
 Poel (= Poole), Samuel, token of, 298.
 Pool, Jeuriaen, medallist, 203.
Portraiture of our Stuart Monarchs on their Coins and Medals, Part III, William and Mary, 199-267.
Portraiture, Shakespeare's: Painted, Graven and Medallie, 143-198, 376, 377.
 Post-horses and stages first established, 284.
 Pound tower, number of farthings in, 101, 112, 137, 138.
 „ „ number of pence in, 100 *et seq.*
 „ „ the, 93.
 Proceedings of the British Numismatic Society, Session 1910, 351-405.
 Proofs of the gun-money of James II., 359, 360.
 "Prudence" medal of James II., 361.
 Punches, iron, supplied for making dies to local authorities, 39.
 Punjab medal, 339, 369.
 Purcell, the composer, 266.

Q.

Quatrefoil, the distinguishing mark of the coins of the Archbishop of York, 120.

2 G

Quebec, medal in commemoration of the founding of, 378.
 QUIS · DABIT · SIMILEM, on plaque of Mary II., 262.

R.

Raby, Ralph, Keeper of the Exchange of Lincoln, 125.
 Ralph, son of Benedict, Keeper of the Exchange of Lincoln, 125.
 Rands, Richard, Chamberlain of Northampton, 289.
 Ranulf, Earl of Chester, 54, 63, 80.
 " " " " death of, 63.
 Rasieres, Isaac de, and wampum, 349.
 Ratclif, Thomas, token of, 314.
 Rawlins, portraiture by, from Van Dyck's picture, 373.
 Reading, Abbot of, annulet on coins struck in London for the, 108.
 " coins of Edward I. of, 108.
 " Matilda at, 42.
 Ready, W. Talbot, coins of, 127.
 Rebus of William Cumin, Bishop of Durham, 49, 50.
 "Recovery of Spanish Treasure" medal of James II., 362.
 Redwulf, finds of stycas of, 332, 334.
 " moneyers of, in the York find, 332.
 Regent, Mary II. as, 242, 243, 267.
 " medals commemorating Mary II. as, 216, 242, 255.
 Regnald, coins of, 381.
 Reinhard, Hans, medallist, 215.
 Reitz, Heinrich, medallist, 215.
 Report of the Council of the Society, 396 *et seq.*
 Research Fund, the, 400, 401.
 Reverse dies, the first supplied on a change of type, 40, 41.
REX : AN, insurgent coin *temp.* Stephen reading, 80.
 Reynolds, H. M., coins of, 12.
 Rhuddlan coins in the Beaworth hoard, concerning the dies of the, 39.
 Ribchester, find of stycas at, 332.
 Richard II., coins of, 362, 382.
 " " portrait of, 179.
 " " Simon Febrig, Standard-Bearer to, 308.

Richard II., the White Hind, the badge of, 297.
 " III., amount of bullion coined from Henry III. to, 357, 405.
 Rijks Museum, medallion in the, 210.
 " " painting of Mary II. in the, 250.
 Ring, a symbol of an ecclesiastical mint, 52, 56, 392.
 "Ring-money," prehistoric, 381.
 Robert, Bishop of Exeter, *temp.* Stephen, 53.
 " " " the coins of, 53.
 " Earl of Gloucester, 54, 62, 63, 64.
 " " " " marches to Lincoln, 83, 86, 87.
 " " " " coins of, 88.
 " " " Leicester, coins possibly to be assigned to, 88.
 " " " Scarsdale, 263.
 Robinson, Victoria Cross granted to Seaman Edward, 338.
 Rochester and Odo, Bishop of Bayeux, 16.
 " Domesday account of, 15, 16.
 " mint of Ecgbearht, 15.
 " " " Æthelstan, 15.
 " " " Eadgar, 15.
 " " " Harold II., 15.
 " " " William I. and II., 15-18.
 Roettier, James, 216 *et seq.*
 " remuneration paid to, 234.
 " John, medallist, 223 *et seq.*, 360, 368.
 " " arrangement between Haris and the sons of, 230.
 " " disablement of, 229.
 " " Scottish piece of James II. by, 359.
 " Joseph, 228.
 " Norbert, 216 *et seq.*
 " Philip, 228.
 Roettiers, remuneration paid to the, 228, 229.
 Roger, Bishop of Salisbury, arrest of, by Stephen, 54.
 " Earl of Warwick, coins hitherto attributed to, now assigned to Matilda, 81, 84.

Rokesley, Gregory de, keeper of the King's Exchange, 98, 101, 107, 116, 117, 125, 130, 134, 140.
 Rollin and Feuadent, coins of Messrs., 20.
 Roman station, Godmanchester, site of a, 1.
 Rome, Anglo-Saxon coins found in the House of the Vestals, 5.
 Romney, early history of, 10, 18.
 „ mint established in reign of Æthelred II., 9, 18.
 „ „ of William I. and II., 18-20.
 Rosette, on coins of Stephen and on those of Charles I., 52.
 Roskell, Hunt and, medal of Shakespeare by, 188.
 Rossi, Signor de, 5.
 Roth, Bernard, coins of, 20, 44, 45, 71, 75, 77, 80, 84, 88.
 „ „ donation of book by, 389.
 „ „ on the coins of the Danish kings of Ireland, 380.
 Rotherham, Archbishop, penny of Henry VII. of, 367.
 Roubiliac, statues of Shakespeare by, 150, 191.
 Roumare, William de, Earl of Lincoln, 63, 80.
 Round farthing, introduction of the, 99, 112, 131, 132, 133.
 „ halfpence and farthings *temp.* Edward I., 100, 132.
 Ruding's coinage, original prospectus of, 356.
 "Rule Britannia" on counterfeit halfpence of George III., 192.
 Rupert, Prince, and portrait of Shakespeare, 170.
 Russell, B. W., exhibits by, 370.
 Rutland Legion Riflemen, medal for the, 375.
 Ryswick, Peace of, 260, 261.
 „ „ „ medal, 219, 260.

S.

S, the formation of the letter, *temp.* Edward I.-III., 123, 124.
 St. Augustine and Rochester, 15.

St. Augustine, the abbot of, 5.
 „ Cuthbert, translation of see of, to Chester-le-Street, 384.
 St. Edmundsbury, mint of Edward I., 91, 93, 94, 95, 103, 111, 115, 116, 117, 118, 124, 129, 136, 138, 139, 140.
 „ „ Abbot of, coins of the, 47.
 „ „ mint of Stephen, 36, 75, 76.
 St. Martin, canons of, and Dover, 10.
 St. Mary Hill Church, find of coins *temp.* William I., 6.
 St. Sebastian, clasp on naval General Service medal, 371.
 St. Stephen at Fountenay, Priory of, 385.
 Salisbury token, 387.
 Saltus, John Sanford, donation of the badge of the Society of the Colonial Dames of America, 381.
 „ „ „ medal, the, and rules, 378, 399, 400, 407, 410.
 „ „ „ medal awarded to P. W. P. Carlyon-Britton, 403.
 Samana bar on I.G.S. medal, 370.
 Sampson, John, keeper of the Exchange of York, 125.
 Sandwich, Domesday account of, 21.
 „ Edward the Confessor and the borough of, 21.
 „ mint established in reign of Edward the Confessor, 9, 20.
 „ „ of Edward the Confessor, 20, 21.
 „ „ „ William I. and II., 20-23.
 „ „ „ Henry I., 22.
 Sannu, Countess of, Lord Ailesbury marries the, 263.
 Sarazin, Stephen, keeper of the Exchange of Chester, 125.
 Sauter, T., of Kidderminster, token issued by, 387.
 Sceattas, Anglo-Saxon, sometimes found in Kent, 5.
 SCEILDFORD, mint of, assigned by W. J. Andrew to Shelford on the Trent, 384.

- Scharf, George, drawings of Shakespeare by, 176, 177.
 Scheemakers, statue of Shakespeare by, 150, 191, 193.
 Scheveningen, Charles II. embarks for England from, 204.
 Scinde medal, 339.
 Scotland, William Denholme of Westshiells, master of the mint of, 239.
 Scottish coins in the Sheldon hoard, 45, 46.
 „ „ of James II., 359.
 „ „ „ William and Mary, 238, 239, 240.
 „ money issued from Carlisle mint, 58.
 Sebastopol bar on Crimea medal, 370.
 Sechell, Thomas, token of, 327.
 "Seclusion," the "Act of," 205, 206.
 Selby, John, Chamberlain of Northampton, 291.
 „ William, Chamberlain of Northampton, 289.
 Seringapatam medal, the gold, 337.
Seventeenth Century Tokens of Northamptonshire (contd.), 269-330.
 Seventeenth Century token of Northampton, in silver, 301.
 „ Regimental School, reward of merit of the, 370.
 Sevigny, Madame de, and Mary II., 251.
 Sforza, Bianca Maria, 214.
 Shaftesbury mint of Stephen, 36.
 Shakespeare, an unpublished portrait of, 180-182, 375, 376, 377.
 „ bust of, on tokens, 374, 375.
 „ forgeries of halfpence with head of, 375, 377.
 „ death mask of, 160.
 „ Dugdale's illustration of the Stratford Monument to, 157-158.
 „ engraved portraits of, 152, 375, 377.
 „ his portraits, 145 *et seq.*
 „ medal of, by Frank Bowcher, 182, 183, 190.
 „ medals of, 184-190, 376, 377.
 „ the Stratford Monument of, 146 *et seq.*
 „ "The 1911 medal" of, 182, 183, 190.
 Shakespeare, possible visit of, to Italy, 173, 174.
 „ terra-cotta bust of, 150.
 „ tokens with head of, 192.
 „ various early views of the Stratford monument to, 158.
Shakespeare's Portraiture: Painted, Graven and Medallie, 143-198, 376, 377.
 Shakespearian Club, medal of the, 187.
 Sheares, William, bookseller, 320.
Sheldon, Derbyshire, find of Silver Pennies and Halfpennies of the reign of Stephen at, in 1867, 27-89, 391-393.
 Sheldon, description of the village of, 27, 28.
 „ find of coins of Henry I. at, 30.
 „ hoard, general classification of the, 31.
 „ „ date of the deposit of the, 30, 44, 393.
 „ Hugh, 88.
 Shelford Church, stone cross of Scandinavian origin in, 384.
 Shelford - on - the - Trent, SCELD FORD mint, assigned to, 384.
 „ „ „ „ remains of trenches at, 384.
 Shinn, Thomas, tokens of, 327.
 Shoemakers, Arms, the, 328.
 Short-cross coins superseded by the long cross, 98.
 Shrewsbury, Charles Talbot, Duke of, 232.
 „ mint of Charles I., 366.
 Siefred, coins of, 381.
 "Silver salt" on glass, 28.
 „ seventeenth century tokens of Northampton in, 301.
 Simon, Thomas, art of, 335.
 Siward, Earl, 2.
 Skidmore, Spencer, and dies for tokens, 386, 387.
 Slye, Geo., token of, 328.
 Smeltzing, 361.
 „ Jan, medallist, 222, 223, 242.
 „ Martin, medallist, 222.
 Smith, John, engraver, 252.
 Smithfield, tournament at, in 1390, 297.
 Snuff boxes attributed to Bower, 231.
 Somaliland clasp on Africa general service medal, 371.

- Somerset, Janssen or, portrait of Shakespeare, 170, 171, 177, 189.
 Soudan, Egypt and, medal, 339.
 "South Africa, 1899-1902," clasp on Transport medal, 371.
 Southampton, coin of Aethelstan ascribed to, 5.
 Southwark mint of Stephen, 36, 45.
 Spanish wreck, medal of James II., 361, 362.
 Sparrow, Joseph, token of, 276.
 Special Reserve Long Service and Good Conduct medal, 372.
 Spence, Thomas, tokens issued by, 386.
 Spencer, de, family, 285.
 Spicer MS., coins noted in the, 4, 17, 19.
 Spielmann, M. H., the Shakespearian medals of, 185, 190.
 Spink, S. M., coins of, 8, 66, 67, 216.
 " " donation of book by, 389.
 " " " " plaster casts by, 389, 394.
 " " exhibits by, 358, 369, 379, 381, 389, 395, 396.
 " " notes on some interesting British medals, the property of, 335-339.
 Stamford, mint established at, 315.
 " ecclesiastical mint of, *temp.* Stephen, coins of the, 55, 392.
 " falls into the hands of Matilda, 82.
 " mint of Eadgar, 23, 315.
 " " " Aethelred II., 20, 316.
 " " " Cnut, 316.
 " " " Edward the Confessor, 316.
 " " " Stephen, 31, 36, 55.
 " " " Matilda, 81, 83.
 " one of the Five Boroughs of the Danish Settlement, 23.
 Standard, Battle of the, and the defeat of David I., 58, 61, 62, 391.
 " of the new coins of Edward I., 100-105.
 Stater, ancient British gold, found near Maldon, Essex, 382.
 Stephen as Count of Mortain, 75.
 " coins of, 33-37, 44, 51, 53, 55, 56, 57, 59, 66 *et seq.*, 73 *et seq.*, 76, 83, 389.
 " " " defaced by Peverel, 66 *et seq.*, 391, 392.
 Stephen, date of second type of, 43, 393.
 " " " transition between the first and second type of, 41 *et seq.*, 393.
 " evolutions of the first type of, 45.
 " find of coins *temp.* of, at Dartford, 50, 54, 55, 66, 74.
 " " " " " at Linton, 44.
 " " " " " at Nottingham, 42, 47, 48, 55, 65, 66, 69, 70, 71, 73, 77, 89, 389.
Stephen, find of silver pennies and half-pennies of the reign of, at Sheldon, Derbyshire, in 1867, 27-89, 391-393.
 Stephen, mints in operation *temp.*, 29.
 " probably continued to issue the last type of Henry I.'s coins, 32.
 " some of the dies of, probably had a local origin, 39.
Sterlingi, the term, 126.
 Stevens, John, Chamberlain of Northampton, 290.
 Stevenson, Rich., token of, 312.
 Stichil, Robert de, Bishop of Durham, 94.
 Stigand, Archbishop of Canterbury, 21, 22.
 Stonyhurst College, Lancashire, stycas at, 331-334.
 Stratford Commemoration medals of Shakespeare, 186, 187, 375.
 " Monument to Shakespeare, 152 *et seq.*
 " tokens with bust of Shakespeare, 374, 375.
 Stratford-on-Avon, painting of Shakespeare in the Memorial Gallery at, 152, 163, 177.
 "Stratfordiensis" on counterfeit halfpence of George III., 192.
 Strathaven (?), mint of David I., 46.
 Stuart badges, as military rewards, 373.
 " relics at Stonyhurst College, 331.
 Stuyvesant, Director-General, 345, 346.
Stycas, A parcel of, from the York Find, 1842, 331-334.

Stycas, finds of, at various places, 331-334.
 Sudbury mint *temp.* Stephen, 75.
 Suffolk, county of, staunch to Stephen's cause, 75.
 Sulch, Lewes, token of, 283.
 Suttlej medal, 339.
 Swaffham, Robert de, on "Medes Well," 315.
 Sweyne, 316.
 Swift, Dean, and the name Peterborough, 330.
 " " and Elizabeth Villiers, 245.
 Sword, *temp.* Charles I., with medallions, 362.
 Symbols of ecclesiastical mints, 52.
 Symonds, H., exhibits by, 379, 389.

T.

Taffs, H. W., coin of, 127.
 Talbot, Charles, Duke of Shrewsbury, 232.
 Taler, James, token of, 328.
 Tamworth, find of coins, *temp.* William I. and II., at, 8, 11, 17, 23, 25.
 " mint of Stephen, 37.
 Taunton, coin of Æthelstan, possibly of, 5.
 Taylor and the Chandos portrait of Shakespeare, 148.
 " W. J., medal of Shakespeare by, 187.
 Temple, Sir William, 207.
 Tempsford, the Danes at, 1.
 Terrewst, William, token of, 312.
 Testoon pattern, by Gian Marco Cavalli, 214.
 Thetford, coin of Harold I. of, 13.
 " Hugh Bigod's badge on coins of, 77, 79, 392.
 " insurgent money, *temp.* Stephen, of, 76-79, 392.
 " mint of Stephen, 31, 37, 76, 79, 389.
 Thurstan, Archbishop, 56, 57.
 Tibet medals, 371.
 Tin money of James II., and the tin mines in Cornwall, 368.
 " " William and Mary, 232, 233, 234.

Tokens not recorded in Atkins, 386.
 Tokens, *see* under Seventeenth century.
 Tompson, Richard, token of, 329.
 Torbay medal, the, 223, 231, 234.
 Town pieces of King's Cliffe, 279.
 " " Northampton, 288, 289, 290.
 " " Oundle, 305.
 " " Peterborough, 316, 317.
 Trafalgar clasp, and pewter medal, 338, 339.
 Transport medal, 371.
 Treasurer's Report and Balance Sheet, 404.
 Trinity College, Cambridge, coins in the, 9.
 Trussell family and Lamport, 282.
 Tunnacæstir in a MS. of Bede's, 384.
 Turkish Crimea medal, 370.
 Turnemire, Peter de, Master Moneyer to Edward I., 101, 102, 110, 120, 121, 122, 134.
 " William de, appointed master moneyer throughout England, 111, 137, 138.
 " " master moneyer to Edward I., 101, 102, 103, 106, 110, 113, 122, 134.
 " " remuneration to be paid to, 111, 122, 123, 137, 141, 142.
 "Tutamen ab Alto" medal of James II., 361.
 Twigden, John, as Chamberlain of Northampton, token of, 290, 291.
 " " token of, 300.
 Types of coins, reason for change of, 39.
 " " usually prevalent in hoards, number of, and reason for it, 30.
 " " effect of changes in, 41, 42.

U.

Ulleskelf, find of stycas at, 334.
 Ulviet, Thomas Fitz, 57.

V.

- Vaart, Jan van der, painter, 252.
 Van Dyck, Antony, artist, 201.
 Vaughan, engraver to Dugdale, 158.
 Verkolje, Jan, painter, 250, 251.
 Vertue, his notes on the Chandos portrait of Shakespeare, 149.
 Vichio, Hugh de, 125.
 Victoria Cross granted to a sailor, 338.
 " " " " soldier, 338.
Victoria Cross, the History of the, copy of, presented, 389.
 Victoria, Queen, medal as Empress of India, 337.
 " pattern sixpence of 1887, 394.
 Vigo Bay, medal of the expedition to, 364.
Viking Coinage of England, The, W. J. Andrew on the, 384.
 Villiers, Elizabeth, 245.
 Volunteer Long Service and Good Conduct medal, 371.
 " Officers' decorations, 371.
 VREELAND, NEHEMIAH :—
 Wampum, the Native substitute for Currency in North America, 341-350.

W.

- Waleran, Count of Meulan, 87.
 Waller the poet and the portrait of Mary II., 253.
 Walsh, badge awarded to, 173.
 Walters, F. A., coins of, 127.
 " " " exhibits by, 375, 376, 382.
 Waltheof the Earl, 2, 57.
 Wampum, ferriage from New York to Brooklyn payable in, 350.
 " how made, 344.
 " specimens of, 342, 343, 344, 345, 346, 347, 348, 349, 350.
 " taxes payable in, 349.
 " difficulty of making, 350.
Wampum : the Native substitute for Currency in North America, 341-350.
 War medals, exhibited, 369 *et seq.*
 Ward, keeping watch and, in Northampton, 303, 304.
 Wareham mint of Matilda, 81.
 Warwick, Roger, Earl of, coins hitherto attributed to, now assigned to Matilda, 81-84.

- "Warwickshire" tokens with head of Shakespeare, 192, 375.
 Watch and ward, concerning the keeping of, in Northampton, 303, 304.
 Waterloo medals, 339, 369.
 Watson, Rev. Wentworth, 275.
 "Waziristan, 1901-2," clasp on India medal, 371.
 Webb, Thomas, token of, 277.
 Weech, John, tokens of, 282.
 Weight and standard of the new money of Edward I., 100-105.
 Weightman, Fleet-Surgeon A. E., coins of, 233, 235.
 " " " donation of camera from, 381, 400.
 Wells, William, tokens of, 329.
 WELLS, WILLIAM C. :—
 Seventeenth Century Tokens of Northamptonshire (*contd.*), 269-330.
 Wells, W. C., coins of, 55.
 " " exhibits by, 379.
 " " token of, 301.
 WERERIC, see PERERIC, 81.
Weser, H.M.S., medal granted to W. Marshall of, 370.
 Wessington in Derbyshire, David I. raids England so far as, 58, 62.
 West-signature on puncheon for die, 372.
 Westmoreland, Lord, 284.
 Westwood, medal of Shakespeare by, 187.
 "Whit Hind" "the," Northampton token of, 295.
 White Ship, the loss of the, 77.
 Whittington, Peverel's Castle of, 61, 62, 63.
 Wickwaine, Archbishop, letters of, relating to the mint at York, 121, 141.
 Wigmund, finds of stycas of, 334.
 " moneyers of, in the York find, 332.
 Willdinge, Anchor, tokens of, 302.
 William, Earl of Gloucester, 87.
 " the Silent, 201, 218.
 " Treasurer of York, 56.
 " I., coins of, 3, 4, 6-8, 11, 14, 17, 18, 19, 22, 25, 288.
William I. and II., 1066-1100, A Numismatic History of the Reign of, Part II. The History of the Mints (*contd.*), 1-25.
 William II., coins of, 4, 8, 9, 12, 15, 17, 18, 19, 20, 23, 25.

- William II., of Nassau, the marriage of, 210.
 „ III. and Mary, a pattern for a counterseal of, 225
 „ „ „ „ busts on coins of, 215.
 „ „ „ „ coins of, 213 *et seq.*
 „ „ „ „ the marriage of, 206, 207.
 „ „ „ „ draughtsmen of, 265.
 „ „ „ „ hair - dressing *temp.*, 211.
 „ „ „ „ medals commemorating, 208, 209 *et seq.*
 „ „ „ „ patterns of, 215, 216.
 „ „ „ „ plaques of, 255, 257.
William III. and Mary, Portraiture on the coins and medals of, 199-267.
 William III. and Mary, the great seals of, 225, 226.
 „ „ „ „ their educational qualifications, 264.
 „ „ as Prince of Orange, 364.
 „ „ boxes by Obrisset portraying, 260.
 „ „ character and personality of, 200 *et seq.*
 „ „ medals of, 203 *et seq.*
 „ „ memorial medals of, 267.
 „ „ mezzotint of, 209.
 „ „ miniature in enamel of, 262.
 „ „ his coinage for Scotland, 240.
 „ „ paintings, of 202.
 „ „ plaques of, 256, 258, 260, 261, 262.
 „ „ plots to assassinate, 245, 261.
 „ „ portraiture of, 202 *et seq.*
 „ „ restores the Irish currency, 241.
 „ „ the great seal of, 225.
 „ IV., patterns of, 364.
 Wilton, Matilda at, 42.
 „ mint of Stephen, 37.
 WINCELES, attributed to Winchcombe, 384.
 Winchcombe, etc., coins with mint name, 384.
 „ mint, P. W. P. Carlyon-Britton on the, 383, 384.
 Winchester, Matilda at, 42, 43, 52.
 „ mint of Edward the Confessor, 396.
 „ „ „ Stephen, 29, 31, 37.
 „ „ „ Matilda, 81, 83.
 „ Rout of, and the restoration of Stephen, 43, 48.
Windsor Beauties, the, 249, 250.
 WINTER, CHARLES:—
 Notes on some interesting British medals, 335-339.
 Winter, C. (for S. M. Spink), exhibits by, 369.
 „ memorial medal designed by, 378.
 Winterbourne Anderston = Anston, 313.
 Wissing, the painter, 210, 212, 250, 252, 253.
 Worthington family, notes on the, 273, 274.
 „ Twyford, tokens of, 273.
 Wren, Sir Christopher, and Mary II., 267.
 Wulfhere, stycas of, 333.
 „ finds of stycas of, 334.
 „ moneyers of, in the York find, 332.
 Wyon, Benjamin, medal of Shakespeare by, 188, 190.
 „ L. C., medals of Shakespeare by, 188, 189, 190, 376.
 Y.
 York, Archbishop of, coins of the, 47.
 „ „ „ distinguishing mark on the coins of the, 120.
 „ „ „ establishes his right to two dies, 119, 120, 140, 141.
 „ „ „ *temp.* Stephen, coins of the, 56, 57, 392.

- York coins, concerning the dies of the, 39.
 „ ecclesiastical mint, *temp.* Stephen,
 coins of the, 56, 392.
 „ find 1842, a parcel of stycas from
 the, 331-334.
 „ mint of Stephen, 29, 31, 37, 41, 53,
 56.
 „ „ Edward I., 91, 108, 110,
 111, 113, 115, 118, 119,
 121, 123, 124, 125, 137,
 141.
- York mint of Henry VII., 367.
 „ Stephen goes to, 43.
 „ the keepers of the Exchange of, 110,
 121, 141.
 „ William de Albemarle, Earl of, 62.
- Young, H. H., medal of Shakespeare by,
 187.
 „ Joseph (Leicester), exhibits by,
 367.
 „ Matthew, cuttings of advertise-
 ments belonging to, 258.

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